Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-96-145 *26 July 1996*

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Albania: Shehu Discusses Elections, Cooperation With Italy

BR2507122696 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Jul 96 p 12

[Interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Tritan Shehu by Renato Caprile "in Italy"; date not given: "No Rigging, but a Regular Vote"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Caprile] Let us talk about the elections.

[Shehu] The local elections to be held in October?

[Caprile] No, the parliamentary elections. About the beatings, the rigging. What kind of elections were they?

[Shehu] They were democratic and plebiscitary elections. Yes, indeed, democratic and plebiscitary. The turnout figures are clear: Eighty-nine percent in the first round and 70 percent in the second. Of course, I do not deny that there have been irregularities. But those were technical irregularities. Our infrastructure is what it is and our democracy is only four years old. But the result was beyond reproach. They were perfectly in line with the polls conducted by major international agencies before the vote. Those polls gave us 50-51 percent of the vote against scarcely 20 percent to the former communists. Those are not opinions, but figures.

[Caprile] And what about the turmoil on the streets, the violence, the protests of the Socialists who boycotted the second round?

[Shehu] Let us be reasonable. Everything went smoothly until three hours before the closing of the polling stations. In other words, until the communists, with the exit polls in hand, realized that they had lost. Only then did the uproar erupt. The accusations, the provocations, the statements, the threats to pull back from the elections. The truth is that the communists had conducted a wary election campaign, one between demagoguery and terror. I repeat, there has been no rigging. There have been—and now I am citing from a report by German observers—irregularities in one or two areas. And the election commission has ordered a new vote (on 17 June—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) in 16 constituencies. The fact that the Socialists subsequently continued their boycott is their affair.

[Caprile] The fact remains that in parliament you have 122 seats out of a total of 144, the Socialists have 10, and eight seats are held by four minor groups. Does this not look to you like a return to the single-party system?

[Shehu] Not at all. Whoever says that does not know anything about this period. It cannot be denied—beyond the numbers—that we have become a democratic country.

[Caprile] Are relations with the Socialists still strained?

[Shehu] Something is changing. There are signs of a dialogue, and above all, they are starting to criticize the centralized economy, Stalinism, the Hoxha regime. After their congress (on 24 August—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) we will be able to see whether or not they will take the road of the European social democratic tradition.

[Caprile] You met with [Italian Foreign Minister] Dini. Is it true that he asked you to rerun the elections?

[Shehu] Absolutely not. We talked about the cooperation and development plans that Italy intends to continue to respect. In four years we have done a good job. Inflation has been brought down from 400 percent to a stable 7 percent per year. Economic growth is about 15 percent. We have privatized 75 percent of state-owned companies and we are preparing to enter the second phase, which includes the oil, mining, and telecommunications industries. We no longer need humanitarian aid but rather cooperation and development plans.

Albania: FRG's Kinkel Sends Letter of Support to Shehu

AU2507074096 Tirana ATA in English 1859 GMT 24 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 24 (ATA)—"Albania, in all its efforts for strengthening of democracy and economy, can count the sympathy and support of Germany," Klaus Kinkel, German Foreign minister has writen in a letter to his Albanian homologue, Tritan Shehu.

On the occasion of the Shehu's nomination to the positions of the deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Dr. Kinkel has sent minister Shehu a wishing telegram, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry, Gilbert Galanxhi said today.

"I wish you successes and hope that cooperation between our countries will continue," said Kinkel in his letter to the Albanian homologue Shehu.

Albania: Meksi, Shehu Hold Talks With Kosovo's Bukoshi

AU2507065596 Tirana ATA in English 1326 GMT 24 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 24 (ATA)—Kosova's Premier Bujar Bukoshi met Tuesday in Tirana with Albania's Premier Aleksander Meksi and deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Tritan Shehu.

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They concentrated on a more intensive cooperation between the government of the Republic of Albania and that of the Republic of Kosova.

During separate meetings with senior officials of the Albanian government the two sides also discussed the latest political developments in Albania and situation in Kosova and the Balkans.

Meksi assured Bukoshi of the continuation of cooperation with the government of Kosova. He also said that Kosova would continue to be at the center of Albania's attention as one of the priority issues of the country's foreign policy and as one of the most delicate and serious issues demanding immediate solution.

Albania: Tirana University Teachers Protest Dean's Arrest

AU2507204196 Tirana ATA in English 1108 GMT 25 Jul 96

[Report by K. Shegani]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—The Tirana University teachers issued on Wednesday a protest against the jailing of the Tetova University dean and other leading officials. The protest says, among other things, that the Albanian population in Macedonia, which makes up 35-40 per cent of the country's population, should be considered a constituent element of the Macedonian state whose schooling is an indispensability for the development of Macedonia, itself. "We call on all representatives of the intelligentsia in Macedonia to join us in considering this act not only a violation of the unalienable rights of the Albanians by the Macedonian state but also a violation of the temple of knowledge and culture which is sacred to every civilised people", the protest says.

Some thousands of Albanians protested on July 22 in front of the Tetova prison and in the city's center in token of support for the Senate Speaker, Milahim Fejziu, and the dean of the Tetova University, Fadil Sulejmani, who were were imprisoned on charges of "involving in the founding of the Tetova University", which the Macedonian government has considered "unconstitutional". The gathering was organised by the Tetova University Students Union. Some 3,000 Albanians protested on July 23 in Skopje against the Macedonian government for sentencing the Tetova University leaders. The protesters asked the legalisation of this university in the Albanian language. In early July some 10,000 Albanians protested in Tetova asking the legalisation of the Albanian university.

Sulejmani and four other leading officials of the Tetova University have been given jail terms ranging from three to 12 months.

The Tetova university was inaugurated by Albanians on February 17, 1995 and later closed down by the Macedonian police. During the inauguration ceremony an Albanian youth was killed. The imprisonment of the university's leading officials aroused deep indignation among Albanian political parties, associations and other institutions in Macedonia. The Tetova University Council and the Students Union, fiercely protesting the jailing of the Tetova University leading officials by the Macedonian government, ask the Macedonian democratic elements and the foreign diplomatic missions to engage in their immediate release. Regarding the Tetova University issue, various world news agencies and the Swiss press report on the Albanians' demonstrations in Geneva and in Macedonia to protest against the imprisonment of the leading officials of this institution.

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Bulgaria: Results of Talks With Ukraine Reported

AU2407134796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 24 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In the concluding talks between the governmental delegations of Bulgaria and Ukraine, it was established that no open or unresolved issues remain between the two countries in the political, economic, and cultural spheres.

After the total agreement that was achieved during the two-day talks, thanks to the preliminary work that was implemented, a short while ago, six documents were signed at the Boyana residence. The joint declaration of the prime ministers of Bulgaria and Ukraine, Zhan Videnov and Pavel Lazarenko, points out that positive tendencies exist for activating and strengthening bilateral relations, which is an important factor for accelerating the profound economic reforms in the two countries and for integrating their state economies into the world economy.

The necessity was pointed out of perfecting the structure of trade exchange, the volume of which in recent years does not correspond to the two countries' potential abilities. The necessity of intensifying the work of the Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Ukrainian Commission on Cooperation in the Military-Technical Sphere and Specialized Production was noted.

The joint political declaration specifies the conditions of remunerating Bulgarian citizens engaged in construction-fitting work in the construction of the Krivoy Rog mining and ore-dressing combine. The interest of the Bulgarian side in the establishment of an international shareholders company on the basis of this combine was pointed out. The terms and conditions of implementing the Ukrainian commitments related to the Yamburg agreements were also specified.

A consular agreement, and intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in health protection and medicine and in the sphere of tourism, a program on a scientific-technical and production cooperation in the sphere of specialized production, and a protocol on direct cooperation between the Ministries of Culture of Bulgaria and Ukraine were also signed.

Bulgaria: Videnov, Ukraine's Lazarenko Assess Meeting

AU2307204596 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] During the first day of the visit to Bulgaria of the Ukrainian governmental delegation led by Prime Minister Pavel Lazarenko, the delegation had a working meeting and a plenary session with a Bulgarian governmental delegation led by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov. Mr. Videnov expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the newly elected Ukrainian prime minister chose to make his first visit abroad to Bulgaria. After the meeting today, the prime minister summarized the results of the talks and the possibilities of implementing the decisions:

[Begin Videnov recording] The internal political prerequisites exist, both countries are making great efforts to effect financial stabilization and implement serious economic reforms, and therefore, we were able to find solutions to certain issues, which until now were unresolved. I confirm that there is a great progress on the Krivoy Rog project, which will be a reliable investment in the future of the Bulgarian metallurgy, the Yamburg agreement, which has an exceptional importance for our power supply, on the production sharing issue, including military production sharing, and naturally, transportation, where the progress in coordinating the various communications projects is obvious. [end recording]

The prime minister of Ukraine, Pavel Lazarenko, said that the beginning of the talks is very promising, thanks to the preparations made by the Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation. The most important thing is that we found the right approach to the unresolved issues, mainly those of the major investment projects related to Krivoy Rog and Yamburg, Mr. Lazarenko said.

Answering a journalist's question he expressed his country's readiness to supply coal and grain to Bulgaria, Mr. Lazarenko said:

[Begin Lazarenko recording, in Ukrainian fading into Bulgarian translation] Regardless of the complex weather conditions, Ukraine will have a grain harvest which will be on the usual level of previous years. We will be able to meet not only our needs of grain and bread. [sentence as heard] We touched upon this issue in our private talk with Prime Minister Videnov. At the upcoming dinner and the meeting tomorrow, we will continue to discuss this issue. However, our possibilities have already been confirmed. We also discussed the supply of coal to Bulgaria, regardless of the complex conditions related to restructuring the industry. We agreed to do everything possible to meet our needs and to effect the deliveries to our partners, Ukrainian Prime Minister Lazarenko said.

Bulgaria: Videnov, Iran's Habibi Discuss Relations

AU2507171996 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Habibi, first vice president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, highly assessed

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the Sofia meeting of Balkan foreign ministers during his talk with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov and Transportation Minister Stamenov. The meeting took place at Habibi's request. He landed in Sofia airport en route to Sarajevo, where he will make a visit at the invitation of the Bosnian prime minister. After the meeting with Zhan Videnov, Hasan Habibi said:

[Begin Habibi recording, in Farsi fading into Bulgarian translation] Last year I visited Bulgaria. At that time, we met and overcame the stagnation in bilateral relations. Certain minor issues remained open, and that is precisely what we discussed now. More specifically, we discussed issues related to banking, payments, and transportation. We discussed both bilateral and trilateral cooperation in transportation with the participation of Bulgaria and Georgia. [end recording]

For his part, Prime Minister Videnov said there is great interest in coordinating various transportation projects related to our country's territory and the Black Sea ports. He added:

[Begin Videnov recording] You know that Bosnia is vitally interested in constructing new infrastructures and restoring its communications with neighboring and more remote countries. Bulgarian construction companies are among those that are winning contracts in this country. If there is common interest between Iran and Bosnia, we could offer our cooperation in the implementation of similar projects. [end recording]

The next Bulgarian-Iranian meeting at governmental level is scheduled for November.

Bulgaria: Party Figures View Court Ruling, Pirinski

AU2407140496 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 24 Jul 96 p 11

[Comments by political and public figures on the Constitutional Court's interpretation of the meaning of Bulgarian citizenship as defined in the Constitution in Sofia on 23 July: "Reactions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Kostov, SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]: "The BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] will be following an extremely bad course of action if it proceeds to accuse the Constitutional Court over its interpretation of the meaning of citizenship by birth. If the Socialists declare the court's ruling to be political, that means that they will be unloading their problems onto the state institutions. If the BSP were a political force with a sense of national responsibility, it would have asked the Constitutional Court about the citizenship of the candidate it wanted to nominate. By choosing the candidature of Georgi Pirinski, who is open to attack on citizenship grounds, the Left is trying to escape failure in the autumn. If the BSP allows itself to remain without a candidate, however, that means that it does not want to assume responsibility."

Georgi Bliznashki, Doctor of Constitutional Law: "The decision is unjust. It is aimed from start to finish to discredit Georgi Pirinski as a possible president. The Constitutional Court is not simply refusing to apply Article 25 of the Constitution and to return to the law of 1948, but is also introducing additional requirements for determining citizenship by birth that are completely arbitrary in nature, namely that citizenship should be acquired at the moment of birth and not be preceded by any other citizenship. All this is a manifestation of political ostracism."

Yordan Sokolov, SDS: "It appears that the Socialists have realized that they cannot win the presidential elections and, therefore, are nominating Georgi Pirinski as their candidate. They want to have a justification. Now, according to the BSP, the Constitutional Court is to blame because of its decision on citizenship by birth. Later, the Central Electoral Commission will also be to blame, for refusing to register Pirinski. If Pirinski's registration passes the Commission, then the Supreme Court may become responsible, by rescinding this registration. In the final event, the BSP will again accuse the Constitutional Court if Pirinski does run and happens to win the elections, but the Constitutional Court declares the election invalid. We will watch with interest to see how the BSP acts, whether it will withdraw Pirinski's candidature or confront the Constitutional Court by declaring that its decisions are political."

Velko Vulkanov, PGDL [Democratic Left Parliamentary Group]: "The Constitutional Court's decision is vague, imprecise, and ambiguous, because, if you examine it closely, you will see that it leaves the main question unanswered, namely what happens if new citizenship laws have been passed in the meantime. The general principle in law is that the later law supersedes the earlier one. This means that the old law is no longer in force, and the new one is applied. However, the decision contains nothing on this issue. I consider that, in this situation, Pirinski is free to act as he finds best. The Constitutional Court's decision does not relate to the 'Pirinski problem' in any unambiguous way."

Filip Bokov, PGDL: "The Constitutional Court's decision is a political one, because the court has exceeded its powers—it cannot interpret laws. It clearly must have political motives to make such a departure from its powers."

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Aleksandur Dzherov, People's Union: "A person must be lacking any sense of reason to take part in the presidential elections despite such a decision by the Constitutional Court. In the event of Pirinski being elected president, the election will certainly be declared unconstitutional. Why should one be forced to play this game? One person is told he cannot play. From that point on, there will be other people. Once it is said that 'X' does not satisfy the requirements of the Constitution, we are left with nothing further to say."

Georgi Purvanov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council: "I can say at once that this is a matter of extreme politicization. This will turn the presidential election campaign in a direction in which a worthy president will not be found. At this stage, the BSP has not thought of changing its presidential candidate, and, in my view, it should not do so. Georgi Pirinski is a tried and tested fighter in politics, and he will not give up. The goal of the opponents of Pirinski's candidature is for us to have a weak president. The forces that can only live under conditions of confrontation are the ones that are afraid of Pirinski."

Bulgaria: OSD Reportedly Splits Into Two Camps

AU2507104796 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 25 Jul 96 p 4

[Article by Ekaterina Nikolova: "OSD Splits Into Kyuranov and Bokov Camps"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—The report entitled "The Alternative: a New Policy, a New Government" that the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] Political Council adopted unanimously has split the Socialist faction into two camps. Yesterday, Filip Bokov, chief of the Pirinski-Marazov team's election campaign headquarters, declared that "he is not a member of this OSD," and announced that he had not attended any of its sessions since 1993. According to the BSP election campaign center, the OSD has deliberately adopted a political stance against them.

At the insistence of his comrades in arms, BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] presidential candidate, Georgi Pirinski, who is deputy leader of the OSD, still remains silent on the issue of replacing the government and dislodging Videnov from the party leadership. His political spokesman, Ivaylo Kalfin, was unable to reply when asked whether the presidential candidate has any criticisms of the government.

The main OSD organization in Dimitrovgrad has sent a letter to OSD leader Prof. Chavdar Kyuranov, in which it expresses its disagreement with the decisions of the OSD Political Council. According to the letter, before calling for an extraordinary BSP congress, it will be far more ethical for the OSD political leadership to convene a national conference of the OSD. The OSD members in Dimitrovgrad ask for the OSD conference to be held before the presidential elections and want the conference to make changes in the faction's leadership.

Bulgaria: Interior Minister's Managerial Skill Analyzed

AU2407105896 Sofia SEGA in Bulgarian 18-24 Jul 96 No 28, pp 10-11

[Article by Bozhidar Genov: "Secret Weapons of New Tactics in Interior Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "He fits the bill as minister" is the brief assessment of Nikolay Dobrev's first two months in his post by his Interior Ministry subordinates. When he was chosen, the main criticism against him was that he was a man brought in from the outside who was not familiar with the police's problems. Having been walked over by five ministers who had been dropped on them from above, and who expelled all the professionals from the police service, the police thought that the time had come at last for one of their own number to be elevated to the top position in the hierarchy, despite the bitter experience with Viktor Mikhaylov—which goes to prove that a man who is inside the system grows so accustomed to its defects that he does not even notice them.

Nikolay Dobrev has had no experience in the mechanics of police work, but he is well versed in administration techniques. He has served at all levels in organizational work, and steadily and perseveringly won his spurs. On several occasions, he was demoted to a lower level, but always survived. This is no matter of chance or fate. High qualities are needed to survive in politics without betraying your own standpoint.

In contrast to his predecessors, Nikolay Dobrev has a well-developed capacity of selectivity regarding the main goals. As chairman of the National Security Commission, he roundly criticized the work of the Interior Ministry secretaries, and everyone expected speedy dismissals. His complete silence regarding "6 September" [address of the Interior Ministry in Sofia] surprises many, but is a mark of the reasonableness in his actions, and good tactics. If he had immediately gotten rid of his deputies, Dobrev would have run the risk of not obtaining the essential information about the state of the Interior Ministry's work and its mechanics of operation. "I will assess them according to their professionalism, ethical standards, and results"—this is his new credo as minister. He is not a loner, because that would mean isolating himself from the problems, so that he could not resolve them. However, he is not

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too trusting, either, because he knows that every one of the officials with access to him is connected with a certain group of people.

The new minister has set himself five main goals: control over the banking sector, the economic groups, privatization, and dirty money, and combating organized crime. These goals have not been publicized anywhere, but the operations carried out in the past week are the first signs. "We will use nontraditional working methods," the interior minister declared. Removing special operations from the hands of the police is a successful practice in many countries. The police are unable to eliminate crime completely, but they can reduce it to acceptable limits.

"To make a revolution, you need the agreement of at least two-thirds of the population," Auguste Comte said. Dobrev has followed this maxim closely at the Interior Ministry. Without making a lot of noise, he went to Chief Prosecutor Ivan Tatarchev, not to seek people in the judiciary to blame for the high crime rate, but to offer his hand and propose working in cooperation. For the first time, all the political parties and public organizations were invited to the celebrations of Interior Ministry Day.

Nikolay Dobrev is an ambitious man. He entered the building on 6 September Street with evident reluctance and with his teeth tightly clenched. His appointment as minister can to a large extent be considered as a step that is, if not backwards, then at least sideways from the ladder of power. As BSP organizational secretary, Dobrev "kneads the dough" of the party. There is no mayor, National Assembly deputy, or minister who has not been subjected to his keen-eyed perusal. What is more, he can calmly make assessments about his own colleagues, and his word always carries great weight. As chairman of the National Security Commission, he also possessed more real power for controlling the executive. Now his responsibilities are heavier, but his powers are less.

So far, the people in the BSP have been asking under their breath whether the appointment of Nikolay Dobrev to this very ministry was a necessity, a mark of recognition, or the result of party infighting. If he were to fail in the Interior Ministry, he would find it difficult to remain at the top of the party pyramid. However, a success would be likely to open the way higher up the ladder.

Bulgaria: Assembly Commission Wants Larger Army Budget

AU2507110296 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Jul 96 pp 1, 4

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Spirdon Spirdonov: "National Security Commission Proposes Granting Defense Ministry 4.8 Billion Leva More Than the Amount Planned"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The country's financial capabilities at the present do not permit it to satisfy all the needs of the state-financed structures in the defense and security fields, Lyuben Petrov, chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Commission, stated yesterday. In its official standpoint, the commission recommends increasing the funding in the "Defense and Security" section of the bill for updating the 1996 state budget. The deputies on the commission propose an increase of 4.8 billion leva in the money allocated to the Defense Ministry's system, 1.6 billion leva more for the Interior Ministry, and increases of 10 million leva each for the National Protection Service and the National Intelligence Service.

The 1996 Budget Act adopted at the start of this year allocates 33.995 billion leva for defense spending (both civil and military). The government already proposes to increase the defense budget by 4.573 billion leva to 38.569 billion.

According to the government's bill, Defense Ministry expenditure is updated from 33.485 billion to 37.962 billion leva, of which 31.016 billion leva (previously 26.495 billion) is earmarked for day-to-day maintenance of the armed forces.

The members of the National Security Commission reached the conclusion that the requested increase is prompted by the fact that the amount proposed in the 1996 budget update is less than that required for the normal functioning of the Defense and Interior Ministry systems. Apart from this, current funding is being implemented with restrictions, with the result that in the first half of 1996 less money was received than the amount envisioned in the original 1996 budget. This is having a negative effect on the combat readiness and fighting capabilities of the country's defense and security structures.

According to the National Assembly deputies, if the funding proposed by the government in the updated 1996 budget bill cannot be increased by a further 4.8 billion leva, it should at least be raised by 2-3 billion leva. The end result depends on the debates during the two readings of the bill in parliament.

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Czech Republic: Havel Views New Government, Senate, NATO

AU2407105696 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Jul 96 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Jefim Fistejn; place and date not given: "I Have a Good Feeling About This Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Vaclav Havel spoke with LIDOVE NOVINY about his feeling for the new government, the electoral system, and other issues in the first interview he has granted the Czech media since the elections.

[Fistejn] How satisfied are you with the new government of the Czech Republic?

[Havel] I have a good feeling about the composition of this government. As I have said many times before, however, I miss ther being at least one woman in the government.

[Fistejn] You wished the government a long term in office; do you really believe it will stay in office for four years? How do you feel about early elections?

[Havel] In a democracy, early elections are not a terrible problem. Nevertheless, I would be happier if there were no need for early elections and this government stayed in office until the next regular elections. Whether the government will manage to do so depends to a certain degree on the government itself; that is, on how cleverly it will act.

[Fistejn] If Klaus's cabinet fails in the Chamber twice in the row, do you have another candidate for the post of prime minister?

[Havel] I do not expect that this Klaus government will not get the confidence of the Chamber. The question is really how it will attain this confidence. If it were, for instance, only because three social democrats suddenly fall sick with influenza, it would not be a very good start, and it would not be a very firm foundation for its future operation. If it does not get the vote of confidence, which—I repeat—I do not expect, I will start talks with the main political parties again, and I will appoint as prime minister the person who will have the best chance of obtaining the vote of confidence for the government he would produce. In other words: I would act in the same way as I did immediately after the elections.

[Fistejn] You opposed the Senate at first, but you are in favor of the concept now. In the Chamber, only the coalition advocates the idea of the Senate. What do you expect from the Senate elections?

[Havel] It is true that, when our Constitution was emerging, I was not very favorable inclined toward the two-chamber system; once you have the system, however, I honor it and contemplate how to best bring it to life, so that it really makes sense. If the Senate is not just to be a dead arm of our political life, as it was during the First Republic, it must not be just a shadow or a mere copy of the Chamber of Deputies. It must have its distinct profile that will engender esteem on the part of the citizens.

[Fistejn] How do you feel about the proposals to change the electoral system? Regardless of the current Constitution, which of the three known electoral systems (proportional, majority, and proportional-majority) seems, to you, to be the best suitable one for the Czech Republic?

[Havel] The worst affliction that permanently threatens the modern parliamentary democracies and also unpleasantly marked our pre-war democracy is an excessive "party influence [zestranicteni]" in political life. Therefore, I have always warned against this danger and advocated matters that are capable of challenging this influence. One of these matters was, in my opinion, the combined system; that is, the presence of majority elements in some of our elections, and I promoted that. I favor a balance and oppose any extremes, fundamentalisms, or excesses. That is one thing. Another thing is that I consider it absurd that those who once pushed through the purely proportional system in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies, suddenly, when they do not like the result of the elections, proposed a change of the system. I would very much oppose it. One cannot change the rules—according to the need of the moment—in the middle of a game. Something like that would be a sign of a very little developed sense for democracy.

[Fistejn] Pavel Tigrid [former culture minister] stated in an interview for LIDOVE NOVINY: Havel and Klaus form a partnership of which this country can be proud, even if Klaus does not always admit it." Do you admit that you form a fruitful partnership with the prime minister?

[Havel] I have often encountered the sentiment that we, in a certain way, complement one another, even more so as we are so different. If it is actually the case, I certainly consider it good.

[Fistejn] The Social Democratic Party [CSSD] is tactically attempting to create the impression that it is the Castle [Presidency seat] party. Will you leave like that, or do you intend to indicate the differences between yourself and the social democracy by some public gesture?

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[Havel] I have no reason at all to give any party carte blanche a priori [apriori bianko] support, and I have no reason at all to dissociate myself from any party without a specific reason, just so that you will not have the impression that I consider it "mine." My views should be obvious from my speeches and my political conduct. If I identify with or, on the contrary, differ from the views of a particular party on some specific issues, it should be clear from the matter itself. A general identification with any particular party or, on the contrary, a general dissociation from any particular party would mean that I lack self-confidence, and need to delimit myself by endorsing someone or by turning away from someone.

[Fistejn] One of the burning issues of the day is the restitution of church property and the reaction of the parliamentary opposition to the cabinet's restitution intentions. Would you care to comment?

[Havel] I believe that, in principle, that it is high time to conclude and end the restitution processes. From this vantage point, I welcome the intentions of the government. At the same time, however, I am somewhat surprised that this issue should be, as I have heard, an obstacle to the CSSD expressing confidence in the government. First of all, it is a topic that is not at all included in the government policy statement, and I believe that the support for the government should be given on the basis of a study of this statement rather than something else. Moreover, it seems to me that it actually is an indirect introduction of new conditions in the last moment. Once this issue reaches the working table of the cabinet, or possibly of the parliament, all the parliamentary parties will certainly have an opportunity to take a stand.

[Fistejn] What do you see as the biggest problems of the upcoming term of office? To what degree are these problems common to the Czech Republic, Europe, and the world?

[Havel] I have the impression that the big task for the upcoming term actually is, or will be, two things. The first is the increased efforts to transform the entire budgetary, subsidized, and the so-called non-profit spheres; that is, the spheres of public interest. It seems to me that the transformation of these spheres is somewhat lagging behind the transformation of the economy per se, and that, in many of the areas of public interest or public property, we still are in communism, or rather in a system combining centralism with a dearth of efficiency. Second, I believe that we should not concentrate on ourselves and our interests or priorities of the moment all the time, but rather that we should learn to perceive the general and long-term connections and take them into account. We are not only inhabitants of this republic, but also of the entire Earth, whose civilization has never in history been so interconnected and so globally threatened.

[Fistejn] The Czech Republic is a country between Germany and Russia: Is that still true today? What about America and the Masaryk tradition of special relations with the United States?

[Havel] I do not believe that we should perceive ourselves as a country situated between Germany and Russia. It appears to me more that we are the country—for now—situated between the European Union and the gravitation field of Russia and that we should concern ourselves more with issues of the coexistence and cooperation of these two entities, one of which, the Western one, is tied closely by numerous links with the North American continent. I have the feeling that our foreign policy is well aware of these links—after all, we have never had so friendly relations with the United States as we do today!

[Fistejn] Do you perceive the new government term in office as a new opportunity for your own political activity?

[Havel] I have been always more interested in the chances of our society or state than my own application. I do not need to draw attention in any way, apply myself, or fight for influence only for the sake of enjoying having it. The cause is important for me, and if I get involved in something, it is solely because I believe it to be a good cause.

[Fistejn] Your feeling about NATO and the Czech membership in it also underwent a certain development over the past six years. Why would that be? Do you believe that the issue of NATO membership should be approached with or without a referendum?

[Havel] That has not been my own development, but rather a development of the situation. At first, many people, both in the West and in the East, felt that the existing security arrangement in Europe was antiquated and that it was time to think about a new one. It soon emerged that NATO—as the only actually working European security alliance—must be the basis for this new arrangement and that it is much easier to redefine NATO in some way than to dissolve it and found something else. Although I am an advocate of the institute of referendum as an extreme safety valve for extreme situations, which does not ever have to be used (We had the possibility of a referendum included in the constitution in the First Republic, and none was ever conducted), in this instance, I see no reason for one. Membership of the alliance not only does not affect the sovereignty of the state, it even helps to protect it.

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[Fistejn] Do you feel that, by your work, you are starting new traditions (written or unwritten) of Czech statehood? If so, what kind?

[Havel] Of course, and I am not alone in starting them. Our parliament, cabinet, and other state and political institutions do, too. We live in a new state and in a new constitutional system, and it is our task to breathe life into them. The manner in which we do so certainly affects also the methods to be applied by our successors. So, we are obviously starting certain traditions, whether we want to or not.

Czech Republic: Klaus Views Policy Statement, Uhde Election

AU2407131596 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Jul 96 p 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Ladislav Jakl; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus did not manage to push through either the concept of a briefer government policy statement or the idea that he does not have to read the policy statement in the Chamber.

[Jakl] Why do you actually write something called a government policy statement when the Constitution does not task you to do anything of the kind?

[Klaus] It is true, but that is the tradition in our country. I can vividly remember how the first statement of the post-November government was written in the presence of the new government members and numerous advisers and friends at the Finance Ministry on the second and third weekends of December 1989. It is the fourth one since that time, and I almost have the feeling that it must be so.

[Jakl] Nevertheless, the tradition does not prescribe such a degree of detail, which, under pressure from the various sectors, goes to unnecessary aspects. Some chapters even go against the election program and your government practice. Did you also include great compromises?

[Klaus] We are a coalition government, and it is not possible for one party to dictate government statements. As a result, it naturally includes matters that I would not have emphasized or for which I would have used a different term. Another aspect of this problem is that the statement, whether or not you want it to, grows as every cabinet member wants to find himself in it and wants to place his sector's agenda in the best possible light. That, too, is an unnecessary matter, because it is not the main report for the public on what the government wants to do in the upcoming period. Nevertheless, that is how it is. I think the statement is unnecessarily long. I even recommended that since everyone wanted to know what it said beforehand, it should be left as the text of the government policy statement and I should no longer have to read it but only give an accompanying presentation. That idea, however, was not acceptable to the coalition partners.

[Jakl] The reason the Czech Social Democratic Party wanted the text beforehand was certainly to participate in drafting it. They did not manage to do that. Why do they insist on their demand? They will have time for reflection after the presentation. The vote, then, will be on confidence in the government, not on approval of some text.

[Klaus] I believe it really is a boys' game of personal prestige, and I certainly do not wish to prolong the debate by even a second more.

[Jakl] The newly elected chairman of your deputies club is Milan Uhde [former chairman of the parliament], who, despite having been one of the three top-ranking officials in the country, is only now joining the leadership of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. Are you happy about this?

[Klaus] Milan Uhde has been a prominent person, and I believe I was responsible for his becoming chairman of the Chamber in the past term of office. I would even go so far as to say that it was against the will of some members of the ODS Deputies Club. I am glad he was elected, but I must also add that the processes within the ODS are completely democratic, and I myself came to that meeting of the club without any idea it would end this way.

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B-H: Ganic Views Normalization of Relations With FRY

AU2507193496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 96

[Report by Samir Huseinovic on the news conference held by Ejup Ganic, Presidency member and Federation Vice President, in Sarajevo on 25 July]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Huseinovic] After more than four years, an economic delegation from Bosnia-Herzegovina visited the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] where, according to Presidency member Ejup Ganic, it established significant contacts with FRY officials. Accompanying Ganic were Republican Assembly Speaker Miro Lazovic, Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic, and a number of Bosnian businessmen. They were received by the deputy federal prime minister, Nikola Sainovic, in the Palace of the Federation of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The two delegations discussed the revival of economic cooperation, which is where the greatest degree of understanding was achieved. Several protocols were signed, all of which pertain to the reestablishement of economic cooperation and the improvement of communications between the two states.

It was agreed that Bosnia-Herzegovina and FRY citizens can enter the respective countries without visas, that telecommunications would be restored, and that the respective chambers of commerce will open officers in Sarajevo and Belgrade which will help efforts to further economic cooperation.

The hosts were particularly surprised by our delegation's concern over Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens in the FRY, as these are mostly people of Serb nationality. Our delegation stressed full respect for their rights and their speedy return home. Ejup Ganic also met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The talks focused on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bosnia and the FRY. Milosevic expressed his stance regarding Bosnia-Herzegovina's suit filed against the FRY [words indistinct]. According to Ganic, progress was achieved because both sides agreed that succession was not a political, but expert issue and should be left to the experts. One of the topics discussed was the issue of citizens listed as missing; it was agreed that commissions would be formed that would collect information about these people. The status of Sandzak Bosniaks was another topic discussed, and the possibility of their participation in FRY policymaking.

Ganic addressed the many protests against the Bosnian delegation's visit to the FRY. The normalization of relations has started, and it is irreversible. Ganic stressed that the two neighboring states must develop normal relations which cannot be avoided because of Bosnia-Herzegovina's complex ethnic makeup.

[Begin Ganic recording] Our trip to Belgrade is a reflection of our commitment to a multiethnic Bosnia, a strong Bosnia. We wish Serb, Bosniak, Croatian, Jewish, and all other children the same future. We care about the prosperity of the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the same way that we care about the prosperity of all other nations. We said that we know there can be no Bosnia without the Serbs, a multiethnic Bosnia, [words indistinct] if we allow divisions....[end recording]

[Huseinovic] Ejup Ganic also announced a forthcoming return visit by a FRY delegation to Bosnia-Herzegovina. [Words indistinct] that was agreed in Belgrade.

B-H: Plavsic Denounces Ganic's Visit to FRY

LD2607092196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Novi Sad, 26 Jul (SRNA)—Dr. Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, has told today's NASA BORBA that "the visit by Ejup Ganic to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is a terrible blow to the dignity of the Serb nation."

"It is known who Ejup Ganic is! He is directly responsible for the massacre in Sarajevo's Dobrovaljacka Ulica, which took place at the very beginning of the war. He was the main organizer of that despicable act. I heard him when he ordered it [as received].

"Terrible! The people here view this visit as a difficult defeat," Dr. Plavsic said.

Commenting on the heralded visit by John Kornblum, and saying that the Serbian president has given in to the demands of Richard Holbrooke to receive Ganic, she warned that "the people in the Serb Republic will no longer tolerate any such pressures."

B-H: Iranian Vice President on Bilateral Relations

LD2607113096 Tehran IRIB Television First Program Network in Persian 0930 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We continue the news bulletin with a report on First Vice President Habibi's visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In an interview, Mr. Habibi stressed the need for the implementation of cultural program in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Habibi, would you please tell us in what areas Iran and Bosnia will be cooperating.

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[Habibi] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. As I said in Tehran, we are—and have been—cooperating with our Muslim brethren in Bosnia in the economic, cultural, and political, as well as in the humanitarian fields. We are also cooperating on health and treatment issues and in dealing with matters which crop up for the people in wartime. We have offered help as far as we are able to. The main issue at the moment is long-term cooperation. In fact we will be setting up a joint commission over here and will be carrying out tasks relating to the cultural and economic agreements.

On my way here, I talked with the Bulgarian prime minister during a short stop in Bulgaria. During our talks, besides bilateral issues—that is about Iran and Bulgaria—we also discussed trilateral cooperation [between Iran, Bosnia, and Bulgaria]. If our brethren in Bosnia show willingness and agreement, we will be talking about that. One such issue relates to transport. The Bulgarians are keen on that. There are also other tasks which relate to reconstruction. [end recording]

B-H: 'State of Immediate War Threat' Remains in Force

LD2507155996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 25 Jul 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 25 (TANJUG)—The Deputy Defence Minister of the Muslim-Croat Federation in Bosnia Hasan Cengic told Sarajevo daily VECERNJE NOVINE that it was too early to lift the state of immediate war threat.

In an interview published Thursday, Cengic said the state of immediate war threat remained in force for security reasons due to the danger of crime growth.

Opposition political parties have criticized this decision which they see as a measure aimed at limiting the freedom of movement.

The parliament of the other Bosnian entity—Republika Srpska—has already lifted the state of war in its territory.

B-H: Article Claims War Criminals Move Freely in Zagreb

AU2507174596 Ljubljana SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 96 pp 28-29

[Article by Kresimir Meler: "Walking on the Nerves of Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dario Kordic, a brigadier of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], and later leader of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] of the so-called "Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia," can these days be seen walking peacefully along the streets of Zagreb, accompanied by his son Darko, daughter Marija, and his wife. After his walk, he returns to his home in Gorjanska 26, in Tresnjevica, not far from a police station. This scene would not be unusual if the International War Crimes Tribunal for former Yugoslavia [ICTY] had not issued a warrant for Kordic a few months ago. The warrant had been issued on the basis of the crimes committed in central Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Lastva Valley. Kordic does not avoid the police, although he could be arrested on sight, without a special warrant—that is, if the policemen adhere to the law on the cooperation with the ICTY, which the Croatian parliament passed basically unanimously. Well, we ascertained that this is not the case; in fact, policemen even politely greet him. That is how they are also treating other Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats who have been accused of war crimes: Mario Cerkez, Ivica Santic, and Pero Skopljak, who are almost constantly in Zagreb. Are the Croatian legislative bodies and the police really that uninformed? Everything points in a different direction, however, to something more serious, which could distance Croatia from all the reintegration processes with the Council of Europe and the Partnership for Peace for a long, long time.

They Cannot Be Criminals

Even when it was just announced that warrants for war crimes could be issued against certain Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats, interesting moves began taking place on part of the Croatian leadership. It was then that a high-level official, close to the Croatian president, stated that a war crimes warrant for Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats would represent a warrant against the entire Croat nation, and it did not end there. According to a suggestion made and encouraged by the Croatian minister of defense, Gojko Susak, HVO General Blaskovic was quickly moved from his country, Bosnia-Herzegovina, to Zagreb, and given the high position of chief inspector of the Croatian Army. Even then, the Croatian foreign minister, Mate Granic, warned that "such actions could seriously harm the international position of Croatia, and even cause international sanctions such as those which were in effect against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." The Croatian president himself replied to Granic's statement, by saying that "Croats cannot be criminals because they were defending their homes." At the same time, he raised the question as to why no warrants had been issued against any Bosniaks.

This seemingly unimportant episode was the prelude to a much more severe conflict within the HDZ and the government. About a week before the discussion on

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the acceptance of Croatia into the Council of Europe, Minister Granic clearly warned both President Tudjman and the government that the obligations which had been taken over needed to be performed, according to the Dayton agreement, including naming a mayor of Zagreb and allowing freedom of press. Even then, a group led by Susak and Vladimir Seks managed to convince President Tudjman that these were matters "that are formal and unimportant." We know the results. After such convincing, the president explained to Granic, in a relatively rough manner, that Croatia "will not, under any condition, permit Europe to tailor its internal and foreign policy, or any law." At the same time, the tip of the iceberg started to melt and show who was on which side. The minister of defense was too clever to personally attack individual ministers. Instead of him, Zvonimir Hodak, otherwise Susak's lawyer, voiced his opinion by attacking, in an interview, Minister Granic and Assistant Minister Ljerka Mintas-Hodak (his own wife), by saying that he did not agree with their persistent endeavors for Croatia to be accepted into the Council of Europe. "Some would hand over all the Croats to The Hague, only for Croatia to be in the Council of Europe." Moreover, he said that the "Council of Europe is a second class organization to which we attribute a great importance, and I do not know why.... It is not all right to arrest Croats on the streets. We need to call them and discuss [matters], and they will certainly voluntarily hand themselves over to the Hague Tribunal." At the same time, he attacked the law on the cooperation with the ICTY. Perhaps this could even have been understandable since he was defending one of those accused of war crimes, a task the Croatian Government had him do. Since no one from the government had distanced himself from Hodak's statement, it is not difficult to conclude that this is also the official position of the government, that is, the majority within it.

Hard Line Against Granic

The government therefore is mainly on the side of the right. That this is really so, is evidenced by the fact that ten days ago, a Croatian Government team led by Gojko Susak met with a team of lawyers that the Croatian Government had hired to defend the Bosnia-Herzegovina Croats accused of war crimes. "We met with the team of lawyers to tell them that the Croatian Government will be at their disposal for anything that is necessary. We will do everything so that each accused Croat gets the best possible defense," Susak said on that occasion, thereby confirming that the still very active right wing of the HDZ, headed by the Herzegovina lobby, is involved in everything that has been and is happening. It would have been good if the conflict between the two sides in the Croatian Government had ended here, but it did not. While Mate Granic was collecting points across Europe by telling stories about how Croatia absolutely supports the Dayton agreement, Minister Susak was dealing with more important matters. He held talks with Jadranko Prlic, Kresimir Zubak, and Bozo Rajic on the reconstruction of the Herzeg-Bosnia government at a time when it was to have already been dismissed. One should not believe that the Croatian president and those closest to him remained neutral; Tudjman indirectly even supported the events in Herzeg-Bosnia. The Foreign Ministry is also being undermined from within by Vanja Moric, the ministry spokesperson and wife of Tudjman's son Miroslav. Tudjman's son is at the same time also the head of the Croatian intelligence service [HIS]. At a time when even foreign diplomatic representatives had known that Dario Kordic and company were in Zagreb, Moric claimed that "they cannot be apprehended as they are not on the territory of Croatia." She had forgotten that this did not stop Blaskovic from being posted—by order of the Croatian president—from that foreign country to Croatia. More proof that President Tudjman has taken sides with Susak is the fact that the HIS certainly knows that those accused of war crimes are in Zagreb, and therefore so does Tudjman. If he wanted it, Kordic and company would have been arrested long ago, as they have been in Croatia since the beginning of the year.

Ominous Premonition From the Right

The media conflict is continuing, and that is not the only one. The fact that President Tudjman and Susak have recently been in Medjugorje as if they were in some municipality in Croatia says a lot. At the same time, Judiciary Minister Separovic did not lift a finger to verify whether the data on Kordic and company being in Croatia was accurate or not. If these types of actions continue, and it seems that they will, it is not hard to see that the currently stronger and more influential right and radical wing will be victorious. The same wing which, by informing the press and starting a campaign, prevented the agreement on the division of authority between the HDZ and the liberals, and with such and other actions against the freedom of the press and the Dayton agreement also prevented the acceptance of Croatia into the Council of Europe. That is because, in their mind, it is possible for the HDZ to stay in power only if the populace has the impression of a constant external threat. If this wing wins, it would be dangerous both for Croatia as well as for the entire region. There is no doubt that the new team would try everything to attach Herzegovina to Croatia, even at the price of sanctions. It would even militarily

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intervene if the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army opposed this. This is also possible in case—we know which—they do not like the outcome of the results of the forthcoming elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and if "spontaneous" demonstrations by the Croat population take place. This was something that Susak also publicly announced. The current rejection of the Mostar elections—only because the elections were not victorious for the HDZ—is an example of this. Should this happen on the level of the Federation, it is not difficult to foresee the reaction of the right wing if Granic does not hold out. If we also add to this the ever louder aspirations of the HDZ right wing for border regions of Slovene territory, the area of former Yugoslavia could once again turn exceptionally hot.

B-H: Croats Torch Last Remaining Mosque in Prozor

LD2507225696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 25 (TANJUG)—Croat extremists on Thursday torched the only remaining mosque in the town of Prozor in central Bosnia, Muslim Radio Sarajevo said.

The source said the mosque had been closed since October 1992, as Croat authorities had not allowed the free practice of Islam in Prozor.

The incident is yet another confirmation of the difficulties in the functioning of the Muslim-Croat Federation, formed under U.S. pressure in 1994 following the one-year heavy fighting between Croats and Muslims for territories with mixed populations in central and southern Bosnia.

B-H: Bugojno Reportedly Sealed Off After Church Bombing

LD2607114596 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] As of last night, there is no longer a single undamaged Catholic church in Bugojno, because unidentified persons have bombed St. Anthony's Church. Here is a report by Anton Mrkonjic:

[Mrkonjic] [passage omitted] IFOR [Implementation Force] and Muslim police immediately went to the scene of the crime. Since last night, Bugojno has been sealed off. At this moment, it is not possible to find out whether telephone links with the town are operational, but the number of the parish office is unobtainable.

The Bugojno municipal council is pointing out to local people and the world public that in the Bugojno area four Catholic churches have been destroyed or damaged and 13 graves desecrated since 1993. The council says that this latest crime against a religious building is an indication of the extent to which the Muslim authorities in Bugojno are resisting the establishment of the Federation in this region and the return of Croats to their homes.

B-H: Voter Registration in Croatia Begins

AU2407172096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The registration of future voters, Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens who will vote in Croatia in future Bosnia-Herzegovina elections, began in Croatia today. The registration has begun with a delay of several days, so Robert Frowick will be asked to [words indistinct], it was said at the (?joint) news conference of the OSCE [word indistinct] and the Government Office for Expellees and Refugees in Zagreb today. Here is Nada al-Issa [words indistinct] reporting from Zagreb:

[Al-Issa] Within the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections, voters will vote in Croatia on 7 September, that is, seven days before the elections are held in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The interest is great among Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens, which is confirmed by the Zagreb Registration Office where more than 300 people were registered within an hour and a half this morning, it was said at the news conference.

The registration and check of voters' [word indistinct] are being carried out in 24 regional offices throughout the Republic of Croatia and in two refugee centers: Gasinci and Oboljan. For registration, it is necessary to present a personal document from which the basic and most important data can be established.

According to OSCE data, there are about 200,000 citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina with the right to vote in Croatia and, considering today's lines in registration centers, one can expect the election turnout to be very high, perhaps as much as 100 percent. The elections will be surveyed by monitors of the OSCE, which is also their patron.

Damir Zoric, spokesman for the Office for Refuges and Expellees of the Government of the Republic of Croatia, pointed out in particular that no Bosnia-Herzegovina political party will be allowed to hold an election campaign in the Republic of Croatia during this time because, as he put it, that is contrary to the Croatian Constitution. However, if this is so, then the Republic of Croatia already violated its Constitution today. In the center of Zagreb, Fikret Abdic held [words indistinct] news conference on behalf of his newly formed political party at which he had very insulting words for the state

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of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its president and people. Croatian police or representatives of the authorities did not react to these insults at all. Asked about how that was possible and who approved of this campaign, Damir Zoric first cynically said that he does not know about [word indistinct] Fikret Abdic's party nor what party he registered if he did so at all. However, he then added that election campaigning can be carried out in the Republic of Croatia by parties that have been registered in two states, that is, both in Croatia and Bosnia. The only thing that can be concluded from this is that Fikret Abdic managed to register his party in the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia, as is known, and also somewhere in Croatia. It has been publicly known that this war criminal from Cazin Krajina has had Croatian citizenship since the liberation of Velika Kladusa in [word indistinct] last year.

B-H: Daily Alleges Abdic's Party Buying Votes

AU2407141596 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 96 p 7

[Article by Senka Racic: "'Papa' Is Buying Voters for 2,000 German Marks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fikret Abdic, the greatest traitor among the Bosnian people and the "king" of economic and political scams in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has once again employed his talent for shady deals to ensure the greatest possible number of votes in the September elections.

DNEVNI AVAZ has in its possession a confidential document that states that Abdic's party, the Democratic People's Union [DNZ], is offering at least 2,000 German marks [DM] to all those who vote for it.

The DNZ has made it possible for all its supporters to contribute to a loan for the party, with donations not smaller than DM1,000, starting 6 June of this year. The term of the loan is 12 months at an interest rate of 100 percent. This means that anyone who decides to contribute DM1,000 as a loan for the DNZ will receive DM2,000 in 12 months time.

However, there is a conditional clause attached to this trade arrangement between the DNZ's electoral headquarters and its potential voters. The creditors will receive the DM2,000 in 12 months time only if the DNZ wins, at least in the Velika Kladusa area. If not, they will be "left high and dry and with empty pockets."

With this move, the architect of the "Western Bosnia" pseudo-state has tried to accomplish two objectives: First, by offering a 100-percent interest rate, he has tried to attract as many voters as possible, reasoning that each individual who contributes the money will also vote for the party; second, in the case of an electoral fiasco, the money will remain in the party's coffers.

Considering that this trade started as far back as 6 June, it is possible to discern Abdic's third motive: If the court in The Hague indicts him for war crimes and thus bars him from the electoral campaign, he can use the funds to disappear abroad somewhere.

It is clear even to those who are only superficially acquainted with Abdic's biography that, even if he were to win in Velika Kladusa, this relentless dealer would not pay out a single cent to anyone because he would simply install a dictatorship. Therefore, his little enterprise can be characterized as an attempt to sell a pig in a poke.

B-H: SDA Assails OSCE's Delay in Registering Voters

AU2507150496 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Jul 96

[Report by Sanela Bugudzan]

[FBIS Translated Text] Halil Genjac, president of the Party of Democratic Action's [SDA] Main Council, said at today's Sarajevo news conference that displaced Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens had applied to registration centers throughout Europe. The OSCE now has only seven days left to complete this substantial job, which is technically impossible, Genjac said.

He reiterated that the SDA had called on all Bosniaks worldwide, as well as all displaced Bosnia-Herzegovina citizens, to vote for the municipality from which they had been expelled. Their right to vote is now threatened by various technical problems, the SDA stressed. According to information at the SDA's disposal, the situation is similar in Croatia, where the distribution of registration forms and voter registration has been delayed owing to a lack of computers for which the OSCE received immense funds on time. Instead of the five weeks at their disposal, the OSCE, owing to unjustified delays, now has to complete the process of voter registration in Croatia in seven days.

It is the SDA's stance that this is technically impossible, and that is why it has called on the OSCE to take urgent measures to take care of the irregularities. The SDA also warned of the consequences which such irregularities could have.

The SDA leadership today also expressed concern over the immense increase in the number of forms with which citizens in the Serb entity can renounce their right to vote in municipalities from which they came. The SDA believes that the number of such forms has reached a

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figure which can significantly alter the ethnic picture in the Serb entity. Mr. Frowick has given us guarantees that this will change, but we have yet to see results, Genjac said.

The SDA assessed the visit of a high-ranking Bosnian delegation to Belgrade as a positive move which has once again demonstrated and confirmed Bosnia-Herzegovina's statehood and the legitimacy of its authorities, all the more so since Belgrade satellites in Pale did everything to deny this. The visit was assessed as a diplomatic success, but the fact that the aggression on Bosnia was orchestrated from Belgrade has not been forgotten.

As far as the electoral storm in Mostar is concerned, the SDA believes that the EU and the entire international community must not capitulate in the face of the Croatian Democratic Community's blackmail. The SDA reiterated certain statements made by European diplomats who threatened to withdraw the EU administration from Mostar because of the Croatian side's uncooperative stance. The SDA sees such statements as an introduction to [words indistinct] and once again called on the EU to honor the principles and agreements it itself proclaimed and witnessed. We have made enough concessions, and we shall not make any more. The results of the elections are legitimate and absolutely clear, SDA spokesman Ismet Grbo said.

B-H: Deadline for Voter Registration Extended 5 Days

AU2607125796 Paris AFP in English 1231 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—The deadline for Bosnian refugee voter registration abroad for September's election has been extended by five days the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) said Friday

As a result of the Balkan republic's brutal four-year conflict an estimated 1.4 million refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina are spread across more than 35 countries.

Ensuring that those eligible can vote in Bosnia's first postwar election in September, a major operation to register voters was launched last month. The orginal deadline of July 31 has now been extended to August 5.

Only 256,388 voters had registered by Wednesday, OSCE spokeswoman Joanna van Vliet said Friday.

She said the extension had been made since refugees in several countries had "not been fully aware" of the procedure to enroll.

B-H: OSCE Releases Funds To Help Political Parties

AU2607125496 Paris AFP in English 1227 GMT 26 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 26 (AFP)—The international organisation overseeing Bosnia's first post-war general elections has released funds to help parties contesting the poll and pay for local election officials, it was announced Friday.

In a move designed to help the 47 political parties and 27 independent candidates take part in the September 14 poll some 7.5 million German marks (around five million dollars) have been provided by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Under rules agreed by a committee of Bosnian political parties the so-called Campaign Assistance Fund is open to all registered parties, coalitions and independent candidates.

Individuals can get a fixed sum of 11,250 marks, while parties qualify for a minimum of 22,500 marks. No single party can recieve more than 375,000 marks though coalitions have a ceiling of 600,000 marks on assistance.

Applicants are entitled to a quarter of the money up front but additional funds are subject to an audit.

In addition, 750,000 marks is being given to local election commissions (LEC) in each of the two entities that make up Bosnia, the Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croat federation.

The money will cover salaries, voting materials, office supplies and equipment, and the voter information service used by the LECs, OSCE officials explained.

B-H: Serb Parties Rule Out Postponing Brcko Elections

LD2507182796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Brcko, 25 Jul (SRNA)—The chairmen of five political parties from Brcko that are running in the upcoming elections agreed today that there is no need to boycott the elections, because they will be held at the local level on 14 September regardless of the arbitration.

"The postponement of the local elections in Brcko is out of the question, because the election will decide on the town authorities, whereas the arbitration deals only with part of the inter-entity border in this area." This was said by the chairmen of the Municipal Committees of the Serb Democratic Party, the Serb Radical Party, the

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Party of Serb Unity, the Democratic Patriotic Bloc, and the Alliance for Peace and Progress. [passage omitted]

B-H: Commentary Offers Serb View of Elections

AU2507171496 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Jul 96 p 1

[Commentary by Nenad Novakovic: "Holbrooke(ing)"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Now it is clear who does not want what on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina! Now the people must suffer as a result of U.S. diplomacy's whimsical vision and lack of information. And that is not the end. They want more, and they want more of it. They want Serb heads on a platter, because it seems that blood is the only thing they enjoy. That is why Mr. Holbrooke is here for the first time. The originator of the Dayton agreement now has to make it additionally clear to only the Serbs, with heads in Zagreb and Sarajevo nodding in approval, what he meant to say, or better yet, do, in each annex and section of the agreement. He is pushing Serb against Serb. All this time. With premeditation and purpose. For the first time this century, all Serbs were on one side in the war, that is, they were not divided among themselves. And now the international policemen are causing division once more among the Serbs instead of helping them break this fatal Serb tradition.

Western analysts and strategy planners have been deluded time after time. One part of the Dayton agreement was implemented in the field, primarily due to the exceptional cooperativeness and efficiency of the Serb side and certainly because that part of the job—as far as the international observers were concerned—was conducted by professional officers and soldiers. The implementation of the civilian part of Dayton agreement faltered from the start, because it was the more complex and sensitive part of the task, and also because it was entrusted to a lesser degree to nonprofessionals, and to a greater degree to adventurers who did not accept reality but wanted to push the people into their own preconceived guidelines and programs. And that is where they got stuck. Nothing came of the program of repatriation, and it is obviously being abandoned, and that was the key component of the civilian part of the agreement. Freedom of movement continues to be risky. What remains are the elections.

Assessments of the Mostar elections experiment were misconstrued, especially those by U.S. analysts. The experiment showed that the elections were too close to the end of the war and that Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot return overnight to the situation that was the cause of the bloody five-year war. In Herzeg-Bosnia, the Croats demonstrated what they had never concealed, that they do not wish to live together with the Muslims, and the Muslims practically revealed what a multiethnic Bosnia meant for them: All the citizens' and other Muslim organizations voted for the national extreme fundamentalist option. And that is the end of the story. A lesson for the gullible, but also a painful experience for the strategists of the failure called the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, born under the wing of the mighty United States but too enfeebled to stay alive naturally. The dilemma after Mostar is very clear, and it unfortunately works against the Serb Republic. The Mostar formula has frightened those who invested a lot in a unitarian and united Bosnia-Herzegovina, because that investment is now up in the air. One cannot blame one's own offspring for one's own failures, so, as always, the culprit is sought in one's immediate surroundings—in the Serb Republic. Strategists are bothered by the president when he is the president and when he is not the president, they threaten Brcko, they "accidentally" take 0.5 percent of the territories under the pretense of cartographic mistakes, they threaten sanctions, they want a scapegoat for not holding the elections, they jeopardize basic civil rights. But the Serb Republic leadership insists upon the elections being held and keeps fulfilling all demands and unreasonable ultimatums. In the Serb Republic, there is no dilemma. The elections will be held, even if they are postponed or organized differently by the international community. That is the position of the Serb Republic Assembly. Therefore, elections will be held in the Serb Republic, and now it is only a question of how they will be held and on what level. No one can prevent that, and presumably it would be in no one's interest to do so, since it is an internal affair of each state. In the meantime, preparations are progressing and the election campaign is de facto going its own way, although not officially. The conditions in which the campaign is being conducted are a separate story, but it is evident that the multiparty scene is flourishing, perhaps a little too much. International strategists are not concerned about creating the best possible conditions for conducting the elections, rather they are concerned about preventing the national parties and national options from getting too much exposure, and heaven forbid, winning. In effect, they are achieving the opposite effect.

The winner of the elections is vitally important. More than ever, the Serb Republic needs wise, courageous, hard-working and professional men, true patriots, who in a time of peace will preserve, strengthen, and build upon what has already been gained, relying, to a necessary and sufficient extent, on our own people and our neighbors. Postwar years are more difficult than wartime years, and that fact, too, will influence who the people choose to lead them.

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B-H: Article Views Reception of OSCE-Supported Media

AU2507180096 Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 96 p 8

[Unattributed article: "RTV Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Election Radio, working under the patronage of the OSCE, has started to broadcast all over Bosnia-Herzegovina, but first impressions are not encouraging. Our quick opinion survey has shown that a small number of people listen to this radio station. In fact, none of those we surveyed has ever listened to the radio station. The fact is, of course, that this radio station has been broadcasting for only a week now, but it is known that new media attract a lot of attention right at the start, so one can believe that almost $3 million, as much as Switzerland has donated, will be gone with the wind and into the pockets of the employees. This radio also has difficulties with journalists because, in spite of very good salaries, it has not succeeded in attracting good personnel. Other media have refused to let their journalists work at Radio OSCE, where they would make some good money, for two months "without salaries." Therefore, the majority of journalists remain at their parent houses by the principle that "it is better to have less for a longer period than to have more for a shorter period." This radio station will cease to operate immediately after the September elections.

The sponsors of "TV-IN" television station, which is supposed to consist of five independent TV stations from Bosnia-Herzegovina, also have a lot of problems. The moot point is NTV Studio 99. Its head, Adil Kulenovic, first refused to join this group, but he was threatened from Carl Bildt's office that in that case he would not be able to count on any material help. Nevertheless, Kulenovic has not yet signed the entry form. He is still facing a dilemma and looking for a solution. As he has told us, the problem lies with the fact that by joining the five TV stations, Studio 99 practically loses its programming, particularly that part of it which was most interesting to viewers: Interview of the Day and the news show Around 22. The other stations, says Kulenovic, will profit because they have had no political or news programs of their own. Kulenovic will make his final decision in the next days, because in August "TV-IN" must start broadcasting, with or without the Sarajevo NTV Studio 99.

B-H: 'Bildt's Television' Said Avoiding Legal Procedure

Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Jul 96 p 6

[Article by Faruk Cardzic: "Center of the Network in the Scouts' Club"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the weapons have fallen silent, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not over. That is how the struggle for radio and television frequencies in this country can be characterized.

Recently, there has been an attempt to install and put into function the so-called Bildt's television.

With the purpose of providing more complete information, "Bildt's television" is a synonym for an already formed and promoted network of television stations, TVIN [TV International Network].

According to the information we received from Emin Skopljak, director of the State Directorate for Telecommunications, the founders, i.e. the sponsors, of this television network, have not forwarded any official request to the competent state institutions, for either its registration or the unification of frequencies.

Avoiding the Legal Procedures

They have not registered at the Ministry of Science, Education, Culture, and Sports, and the "joint venture," as this organization is presented, has not been registered at the Ministry of International Trade and International Communications.

That means that TVIN is constantly avoiding all legal procedures for the realization of its foreseen goals, with the help of its sponsors. In fact the main problem, as Skopljak told DNEVNI AVAZ, is its legalization or, more precisely, its adjustment to the legal regulations of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The latest case, which concerns its occupation of the Scouts' Club in the part of Sarajevo called Mejtas, confirms that TVIN avoiding the law. Nobody had talked about its presence with the competent people in Centar Municipality, which owns the Scouts' Club.

The main idea of the founders of TVIN is to send signals from the Scouts' Club to a satellite, and, vice versa, to receive television pictures from it. That means that this building is the most important point in the entire network.

Example of Radio Free Elections

The fact that everything can be done legally is illustrated by the example of the establishment and the beginning of broadcasting of the program of Radio Free

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Elections. This program was started in agreement with the government, but also with all other competent state institutions, and its institutionalization is in accordance with the provisions of the Dayton agreement—which, eventually, is more important.

Radio Free Elections has only started broadcasting its program (three out of the total of 10 foreseen transmitters are now in operation), and it is about to fulfill all its obligations anticipated by the law and by contract. And, as has been foreseen by the Dayton agreement, only the OSCE (which in fact stands behind the initiation of Radio Free Elections) has the right not to respect local laws in order to secure fair and free elections. The OSCE has the right not to respect laws only until the elections, that is, until the dissolution of the Temporary Election Commission.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is a young country, but, even so, it has its regulations, which, whether some like it or not, must be respected.

B-H: No Serb Party Registers With Sarajevo TV

LD2507220596 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio Television has established by a draw the order of appearance of political parties which will represent themselves to potential voters in the election campaign. The fairness of the draw was observed by a three-member commission. The first presentation will take place next Monday.

[Correspondent Lejla Babovic] Fifteen parties and one independent candidate have registered for the ten-minute presentation slots and the participation in Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio Television programs. [Video shows a list of the parties that have registered: the Party of Economic Prosperity of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Republican Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Muslim-Bosniak Organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Bosnia-Herzegovina Patriotic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Liberal Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Party of Women of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats; the Party of Democratic Action; the Croatian Democratic Union; the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Civic Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Bosnian Party; the Croatian Peasants' Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina; the Liberal Bosniak Organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina; independent candidate Vladimir Srebrov.]

Despite several public appeals and material sent to them by the OSCE mission, other parties have failed to register. All parties and the independent candidate have registered to take part in the discussions about almost all topics offered by Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio Television. The programs will be shown daily from 12 August 1996 to 12 September 1996. They will last two hours and each will host eight parties. The series of ten-minute presentation slots will begin on Monday 29 July 1996.

B-H: Serb Party Claims Media Programs Promote SDS

AU2507122696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 25 July (BETA)—The Democratic Patriotic Block of the Serb Republic (DPBRS) assessed today that the state media in the Serb Republic are pursuing "a brazen and free of charge campaign for the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS]" in the electoral period.

A statement by the DPBRS asserts that the promotion of SDS candidates is taking pace in all information and special programs.

It would be difficult to expect a change in this approach because the SDS leaders are heading the managerial boards of all important information houses—Momcilo Krajisnik is at the head of the Serbian Radio and Television and Velibor Ostojic at the head of SRNA.

It appears that the international organizations that monitor the media during the preelectoral period and have the possibility of influencing an equal treatment of the parties during this period, tacitly support such a policy of the state media and the ruling party, the statement assessed.

The statement also claims that, simultaneously, the promotion of the opposition parities is being obstructed.

B-H: OSCE Envoy Discusses Arms Control With RS Leaders

LD2507114696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 25 Jul (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, the Speaker of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic People's Assembly, had talks in Pale today with Marton Krasznai, OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] envoy and Hungarian ambassador, on preparations for the September elections in the Serb Republic [RS] and the Muslim-Croat federation.

In the talks which were held behind closed doors, they also discussed the military part of the Dayton Agreement relating to arms control and measures to

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be taken to restore trust between the erstwhile warring sides.

After the meeting, Krasznai said that an agreement was reached on the complete implementation of the accord on the restoration of security and trust.

"This accord could have a stabilizing effect on the overall political situation," Krasznai said, adding that "it is only a high level of openness on all sides that can have a good impact on the arms control program in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The talks relating to the implementation of the military part of the Dayton Agreement were also attended by General Zdravko Tolimir, the deputy commander of the Serb Republic Army.

The talks with the personal envoy of the OSCE chairman and his aides were also attended by Serb Republic Vice President Nikola Koljevic and Aleksa Buha, Serb Republic Minister of Foreign Affairs.

B-H: RS Government Discusses Brcko Situation

LD2507194596 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic, the 13th regular session of the Bosnian Serb Republic [RS] government started at about 1800 in Slatina near Banja Luka. The government members are discussing an extensive agenda of some 40 items. The Serb arbiter for Brcko, Vitomir Popovic, briefed the government members on the activities in connection with the arbitration procedure. The stand of the Serb Republic regarding the subject of arbitration is defined in Point 1, Article 5 of the Dayton Agreement.

To accept the fact that the maps do not exist will be the violation of the provisions of the Dayton Agreement. The Serb Republic will not take part in the arbitration until the subject of the arbitration is defined, Vitomir Popovic said. If the Serb Republic decides to take part in the process of arbitration and tries to resolve the subject of arbitration in this way, its chances of success will not be good, Vitomir Popovic said.

Speaking about indications that local elections in Brcko may not be held by the end of the arbitration process, the Serb Republic arbiter for Brcko said it would prejudice the outcome of the arbitration. [passage omitted]

B-H: Former Krajina Serb Leader on Serbs' Future

BR2507140296 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 25 Jul 96 p 6

[Report on interview with former Krajina Serb leader Milan Martic by Angel Santa Cruz in Banja Luka; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—Milan Martic, wanted as a war criminal by the The Hague International Criminal Court, is taking refuge in Banja Luka in a large three-story house located on the city's main boulevard, opposite the Catholic cathedral. An unrecognizable Serb flag fluttered at the highest point and a policeman stood guard by the main door. Half a dozen young bodyguards, most of them with their heads almost shaved, patrolled the garden. Inside the house, turned into office, furnished less than discreetly, colleagues of the former Krajina leader came and went. Other bodyguards were omnipresent. One of them muttered: "What is the use of talking? If we Serbs are like the American Indians, we will disappear." The 42-year-old Martic, who has a cold gaze and is a man of few words, received EL PAIS affably. He was wearing a dark blue suit and weighing a good few kilos less than when he was ruling the fate of Croatia's rebel Serbs from Knin a year ago.

[Santa Cruz] What are you doing in Banja Luka? Are you maintaining any political activity?

[Martic] If you wish to call this political activity... My work is exclusively humanitarian: I am seeking to help the Serbs expelled from Krajina to resettle; we are trying to reconstruct houses for them. Many of them are now living in very bad conditions in Serbia, Montenegro, or here, in the Srpska Republic.

[Santa Cruz] Do you feel safe here?

[Martic] Nothing can surprise me in this life now. In many respects, Banja Luka is a pleasant city in which to live, but I would feel better in my Knin.

[Santa Cruz] Were you betrayed by the Serbian president?

[Martic] Mr. Slobodan Milosevic did not keep his basic pledges to the Serbs of Krajina, which he undertook when he signed the Vance plan. This plan declared that Serbia would protect the Serbs of Krajina. As is known, the UN blue helmets did not do so, nor did Milosevic when the time came.

[Santa Cruz] Are you prepared to appear before the The Hague Court as a person accused of war crimes?

[Martic] It is a simply ridiculous court, set up in order to try the losers of this war—losers for the

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present—in order to conceal all the crimes which the powers committed during Yugoslavia's secession. The real criminals are Clinton, Kohl, Genscher, the Pope... In all wars, the losers are proclaimed war criminals. I am no war criminal. I am not going to allow them to detain me. I do not recognize the The Hague court.

[Santa Cruz] Do you believe that [Bosnian Serb leader] Radovan Karadzic and [Bosnian Serb commander] General Ratko Mladic will be brought before the court?

[Martic] I do not believe that the Serbs will ever allow their leaders to be detained. If they tried to do so, there would be great slaughter.

[Santa Cruz] Do you believe that the NATO forces will try to capture them—them and yourself?

[Martic] I do not believe that the Atlantic alliance forces will receive these orders. The reason is very simple. All the governments which have servicemen deployed here want them to return home alive.

[Santa Cruz] Are you suggesting that the Bosnian Serb army would attack the international forces?

[Martic] You are using the wrong term. They would not attack; they would simply defend themselves against the Implementation Force's attack. The army is made up of the people, and, as you know, every Serb has a weapon.

[Santa Cruz] Do you seriously believe in such a people's defense?

[Martic] Absolutely. What is involved is not the trial of Karadzic, Mladic, or Martic. It is a trial of all the Serbs.

[Santa Cruz] How is your relationship with Radovan Karadzic?

[Martic] We are close friends, like brothers.

[Santa Cruz] Are you officially protected by the Bosnian Serb police?

[Martic] I am.

[Santa Cruz] Why did you order Zagreb to be shelled last May?

[Martic] My orders were to attack military targets, such as the Defense Ministry or the Interior Ministry, and they were given after the Croats had shelled with artillery, tanks, and aircraft convoys of Serb civilians who were fleeing from their attack in Western Slavonia. You probably know that terrible crimes were committed against these fleeing refugees, but the international community closed its eyes to them. I had no choice. I do not know exactly where our rockets fell in Zagreb and I regret the civilian casualties which they caused, but are these casualties more important than ours in Slavonia?

[Santa Cruz] Who do you believe will win the next elections in Bosnian Serb territory?

[Martic] The ruling party—the Serbian Democratic Party—will have a majority. People here trust the party and its leaders despite the fact that the international community has brutally expelled Karadzic from his official posts. Here there are many Karadzics.

[Santa Cruz] Why did Radovan Karadzic not help you militarily last August when Krajina fell?

[Martic] He could not do so at that time, unfortunately. If anybody could have done so, it was Serbia, because Krajina's forces and those of the Srpska Republic are led by Yugoslav officers. They had the necessary weapons and troops.

[Santa Cruz] Were you really expecting Belgrade's assistance?

[Martic] They had a duty to do so. Until the fall of Western Slavonia, they had always promised us that they would.

[Santa Cruz] What will be your future here?

[Martic] For the present, as you can see, I concern myself with humanitarian matters, with finding temporary accommodation for my people. And I say "temporary" because I have never renounced my Krajina; I have no right to do so. We will struggle politically to return to our territory, but if we cannot achieve this by these methods, we will do so by force some day. We have a right to do so, because we have lived there for a thousand years.

[Santa Cruz] Do you believe that the Serbs have lost the war?

[Martic] They have lost it for the present. They do not have any power's understanding or support. The interests of the big countries, headed by the United States and Germany, are directly opposed to the Serbs. Russia is on its knees because it needs these countries' assistance. Some day that will change, and we will not be permanent losers. I do not want war and have never wanted it. I hope that everything will be resolved politically, but if this is not so, we will return in any case.

Specimen of "Big Game" for The Hague

Milan Martic, who has been has been on the list of those indicted by the The Hague court since last March, is, by his rank, one of the specimens of "big game" in the sights of the international judges investigating the atrocities committed in the former Yugoslavia. Public prosecutor Richard Goldstone accuses the fugitive, until

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last year leader of Croatia's secessionist Serbs, of crimes against humanity for ordering the shelling of Zagreb in May 1995.

Martic, now a refugee in the Bosnian Serb city of Banja Luka, fled from Krajina—the name of the part of Croatia under the Serb radicals' control, one-third of the country—following the Croatian blitzkrieg which culminated last August in the reconquest of this territory held by the Serbs since 1991. Milan Martic, president of the self-styled Serbian Republic of Krajina, with its capital in Knin, is a belated but staunch ally of Radovan Karadzic and the Pale regime's most extremist wing. Both men were trying less than a year ago to merge their armies and draw up a common Constitution.

A former rural policeman who became interior minister and then Croatian Serb leader, Martic transformed Krajina's rudimentary militia into a well armed and motivated force. Before becoming leader of Croatia's Serb rebels in 1994 and with Slobodan Milosevic's support at that time, he was the soul and organizer of the Martevici; one of the most terrifying of the armed organizations which took part in the struggle between Serbs and Croats.

The charges against Martic are based on the characteristics of the weapons which he ordered to be used—cluster bombs designed to cause indiscriminate casualties among the civilian population—and the absence of military targets in the Croatian capital. The 5-meter rockets fired by the Serbs from their mobile launchers little more than 50 km from Zagreb caused eight fatalities and hundreds of wounded. Some 90 kg of small fragmentation bombs exploded on impact.

Both the attack on Zagreb and those which followed in that same month on Karlovac were the Croatian Serbs' direct retaliation against the victorious offensive by Franjo Tudjman's Army in order to wrest from them the region of Western Slavonia. Around 18,000 Serbs were living in that enclave close to the Croatian capital, which extended in a 30-km strip along the highway toward Belgrade. Most of them fled toward Banja Luka, in Bosnian Serb territory. Tudjman's forces attacked the civilians in headlong flight and engaged in looting. Zagreb, which denied this, never allowed the number of its casualties to be known.

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Croatia: Deputy Interior Minister on Joint Police Force

AU2507103796 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jul 96 p 6

[Interview with Deputy Interior Minister Zlatko Gledec by Jasminka Ivancic; place and date not given: "Sooner or Later Joint Patrols Will Wear Croatian Insignia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The police have now returned to their basic duties, as they say in the police, after having first gone to defend our homeland, at the time the only armed force to do so, and then returning from war when the Army was established. Since 1 July, the Croatian police have been holding office and working in Croatian Podunavlje [Danube river basin]. Attention has also been focused on it because of the new road traffic regulations. That was the reason for an interview with Deputy Interior Minister Zlatko Gledec. At the beginning of our interview, he explained the great attention the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] gives to training the police.

[Gledec] Education is one of the tasks MUP must constantly maintain, regardless of whether it is basic, criminal, or in the special police. We established the Ministry in 1990, and a large number of new, young people arrived then. They were the first ones to defend the homeland at that time. Most of them were not qualified for police work, but they had brave hearts and they went to war. They wanted to be Croatian policemen, and one must respect all that. Therefore our task now is to give expert knowledge and police education to those brave hearts. The Ministry wants to educate and raise a policeman who will represent authority in his very appearance, not an authority of fear and a "truncheon," but an authority of expert knowledge, politeness, and morality.

Not Everybody Is Born To Be a Policeman

[Ivancic] There are certain complaints about police that are directly contacting citizens, there are complaints from the representatives in the Assembly.

[Gledec] However, there are opposite situations. Policemen are being attacked, and the number of attacks is not small. During training, we emphasize exactly that relationship between policeman and citizen, which must be characterized by mutual respect, always, of course, in accordance with the law. It is also true that not everybody is born to be a policeman, because a policeman must have a certain psychological and physical predisposition.

[Ivancic] In the process of peaceful reintegration of Croatian Podunavlje, the police has its part. What can you tell us about it, now, three weeks after the joint police patrols of Croats and Serbs started to operate?

[Gledec] In everyday conversation with displaced people, one can hear "we will get back there when there is a Croatian policeman, and a Croatian soldier in the barracks," and it really is so. Therefore this stage of the gradual return of Croatian Podunavlje to the full jurisdiction of the Croatian state has been prepared. After demilitarization, joint police forces, consisting of Croatian and Serb policemen who have completed joint training in Budapest, entered that region. They have been trained particularly for situations that one could expect in this region. At the beginning of the joint patrols, there were "birth pangs," but there have been no major incidents in these first three weeks. There are joint patrols on a part of the highway to Bajakovo, and on the Osijek-Bilje, Nemetin-Sarvas, Nustar-Brsadin, and Vinkovci-Mirkovci roads. The important thing is that the population sees that the policemen work together, that there is no subordinate-superior relationship between them, but that the patrols are under the control of UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia], and they carry out the usual police jobs. And beside these road patrols, from 19 July the police will also work in the police stations. Our policeman comes as deputy commander, and gets to know the ground.

[Ivancic] What will be the police's job when the Police Department, stations, and branch offices are established?

[Gledec] In our act on internal organization, we have already established everything through the Vukovar-Srijem, and Osijek-Baranja Department, as well as the police stations and branch offices that cover that region. We have assigned people who will work there. The equipment and everything that is needed for their work has also been prepared. The moment conditions are created for that, we will enter and do our police job, just like in other parts of Croatia.

[Ivancic] How is the cooperation with the Serb policemen, in light of some statements that the Serbs will not accept the Croatian police insignia, and Croatian state insignia?

[Gledec] There are no particular problems with them and, in fact, they are prepared to cooperate. It is true that among them there people who will never agree with what is going on, there are extremists. For the time being, the police patrols wear neutral uniforms and the insignia of the transitional police forces. However, sooner or later that will come under the jurisdiction of Croatia. All of them will be employed, as in 1991. There will always be extremists, but there is no place for them in the police.

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Misunderstandings Are Possible

[Ivancic] Recently, Minister Jarnjak said that there had been no incidents, and that one can safely travel the highway. However, what happened a couple of days ago, when on a part of the highway to Bajakovo passage was forbidden for cars with Croatian number plates?

[Gledec] There really are no incidents. That case happened because of the decision of the commander of the UNTAES Jordanian battalion. I immediately wrote to Mr Klein and warned him about the case, but why the commander made such a decision is still the subject of investigation. It is important that soon afterward, all the vehicles from our side were allowed passage. Misunderstandings are possible, but we are trying to solve them "on the ground" and through talks.

[Ivancic] According to the agreement on peaceful reintegration, the organization of the police should involve the Serbs in the proportion they had according to the 1991 census. Has anything been done in that sense in the MUP?

[Gledec] As I have said, we have prepared our internal organization for that region, and we will certainly respect all the provisions built into that agreement. That also applies to the ethnic structure, which will correspond to the 1991 census. Finally, the Constitutional Law says that too, as well as the laws on the state administration. We respect that, and we will certainly carry that out.

[Ivancic] Over the last couple of days, the police has been in the center of attention because of the new, very restrictive traffic regulations, too. Have they been coordinated with the services that maintain the road communications? Does road safety depend solely upon restrictive regulations?

[Gledec] If the strictness of the regulations could solve the issue of safety, then one should probably pass such strict regulations as would eliminate danger. We are aware that more restrictive traffic regulations alone cannot make traffic more orderly and prevent casualties and great material damage. However, even after this law entered into force, we are witnessing horrible pictures of the consequences of road accidents every day. We decided to pass this, relatively more restrictive, law so that we can contribute to reducing the number of accidents. I think that the individual is the key in traffic, as both pedestrian and driver. Besides, one must influence the traffic culture, which you can see on all the streets and roads of Zagreb, one must influence pedestrians who cross the street wherever they want to, and not where there is a marked street crossing, motorcyclists who go like hell and behave aggressively. Regarding penalties, we have made them so that they punish the undisciplined, those who are aggressive in traffic.

We Demand Correct Behavior

[Ivancic] There will certainly be misunderstandings between drivers and policemen, when from 1 August the regulations start to be applied. Are the policemen prepared for such situations, and how?

[Gledec] That is certainly the behavior key for both the public and the police. We have educated policemen for situations in which there could be disagreement regarding the offense, and of course, we demand correct behavior, politeness, and honesty from our policemen. However, in the opposite case, we would like to remind the public that they have the right to report to the MUP any policeman who does not behave that way.

In the end, in the whole "traffic mess" surrounding the new regulations, the deputy interior minister emphasized the great responsibility that rests with the Croatian Roads Company, which should take care of the road signs. For instance, the way things are functioning is clear on the reconstructed Zagreb-Rijeka road, where in some places there are old road signs with a series of illogical speed limits. Someone should be responsible for that, too.

Croatia: HDZ Official Rules Out Parties Sharing Power

AU2507124296 Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 96 pp 12-13

[Interview with Vladimir Seks, deputy chairman of the Croatian Assembly and member of the Croatian Democratic Union, HDZ, by Dunja Ujevic, place and date not given: "Coalition Government Is Out of the Question"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The process is repeated regularly: Vladimir Seks, one of the leaders of the ruling party and an official in the Croatian Assembly, is periodically exposed by a part of the media, which is supposed to reinforce the argument about "a new initiative by the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] right faction."

This time the excuse was found in Tomislavgrad. The recent Tomislavgrad speech made by Vladimir Seks was interpreted as "consolation for the supporters of Herzeg-Bosnia" and a sign of "the most influential Croatian rightist's ambition to be Gojko Susak's successor."

[Ujevic] Were you talking about certain historical reminiscences in Tomislavgrad, or were you just drying the Herzegovinians' eyes?

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[Seks] First, I would like to say that there are different historical and scientific opinions regarding the historical evidence that the assembly of Croats was held in Duvanjsko Polje. The same goes for all other historical events that certain historians claim took place there. My speech was based on the premises that those events really did take place there, and that it was the center of Croatian statehood. I linked those facts with the present day. That was it, and that was not a consolation. I also said that the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia represented and protected the right of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina to have a state, sovereignty, and close links with the Republic of Croatia. Accordingly, what I was talking about was their right to have such a form of statehood.

[Ujevic] What form of statehood?

[Seks] The Federation and its close links with Croatia. I was not talking about anything else—certainly not about an amputation or a burial of Herzeg-Bosnia.

Herzeg-Bosnia must be reformed in accordance with the reconstruction of the Federation and its bodies. However, that process must be associated with the irrevocable termination of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ujevic] Have the Croats lost Mostar?

[Seks] According to the Dayton agreement, nothing can be lost. We have to wait and see what will be the constellation of the five supposedly independent representatives. Anyway, the problem of the European administration is that it often backs down under the pressure of our Federation partner. It think that is an overture to the process of the Muslims gaining the majority in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Ujevic] Which actions of the European administration are you referring to?

[Seks] Their first mistake was to allow the formation of the central district in Mostar, which the Dayton agreement never mentioned. Furthermore, they should not have agreed to postpone the elections. They should not have allowed voting abroad, as it is not allowed by Dayton. All these things were done to please the Muslim side, and that is a dangerous overture for the September elections.

[Ujevic] Could the September elections possibly annul Dayton?

[Seks] There is a strong trend to revise the Dayton agreement silently, in practice. That is mainly the Muslim doing, as they have been a serious hindrance to the agreement, and the transitional administration has helped them by their acquiescence.

[Ujevic] Can we actually see more global rivalry between the United States and Europe in the local context of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Seks] Certain EU countries would like the Dayton agreement to collapse in order to prove that the U.S. leading role in Bosnia-Herzegovina has not been successful. That tendency is very strong in certain countries, as well as the wish for Karadzic and Mladic simply to disappear from the political scene. In other words, those countries do not want to have them extradited to The Hague, but are trying to work out a silent way to put them away.

[Ujevic] What consequences would substantial manipulation in the upcoming elections have for the Federation?

[Seks] It would entail the breakdown of the Federation, which would mean that the Federation would be split in two.

[Ujevic] Would hostilities about territory follow such an outcome?

[Seks] Everything is possible in such a scenario. If the forces that I have mentioned manage to carry out their plan and prove that the EU and the United States are helpless in the Bosnian case, anything is possible. If Europe and the United States do not confront such ambitions, that will be the end of the Federation.

[Ujevic] Is that the end or the beginning of the story of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Seks] We shall see after the elections.

[Ujevic] I have just remembered that everything we have discussed so far is actually "Susak's subject." Are you really aspiring to become his successor?

[Seks] That speculation is similar to that aimed at showing that there is a split in the HDZ leadership. All kinds of nonsense is appearing in the media. Besides trying to convince the public that there is a conflict between Susak and myself, they speculate about the defense minister's health in the most disgusting way. I would say that is morbidity, not speculation.

[Ujevic] Mr. Dalibor Brozovic recently gave an interview that implied that a government of national unity would be formed soon, and there was a strong reaction in the media. Is that possible?

[Seks] Mr. Brozovic denied having said that a government of national unity should be formed.

[Ujevic] Mr. Brozovic issued a denial of the headline that contained that statement, not of the entire text that implied it.

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[Seks] That is a misinterpretation. Brozovic is a serious person who weighs his every word and does not experiment. The subject is delicate, and we have to be extra careful with the formulations. Participation of center parties in the government is one thing, and a government of national unity is something completely different. Participation of parties in the executive authorities is not impossible, but the ruling party will not allow itself to be deprived of anything.

[Ujevic] You recently offered a similar deal to the Liberals. I think that five ministerial posts were mentioned. Is that the kind of "participation in power" that you are talking about?

[Seks] Yes.

[Ujevic] Would a government of national unity mean that the HDZ gives up its unquestionable power at the state level?

[Seks] That is right. However, I cannot see why we should do something like that.

[Ujevic] Judging by what the HDZ has offered the opposition as a solution for the Zagreb crisis, the HDZ's intention is to break the alliance of seven parties into seven?

[Seks] The HDZ's attitude is that it should negotiate with each individual party.

[Ujevic] What chances does that attitude give the negotiations?

[Seks] Nothing has been refused or rejected so far, and that is progress.

[Ujevic] Is that true that President Tudjman and Josip Manolic have met recently on a regular basis?

[Seks] You will have to ask them.

[Ujevic] The Council of Europe recently sent a group of media experts to Croatia on the occasion of the final adoption of the law on public information. Did they really say that insult and libel were "recognized?"

[Seks] No, no. Their opinion was that the law said too much on protection "from the media." I believe that they got the wrong impression that the law only protects certain politicians, while the law actually protects all persons in public life. They get that wrong impression from the circles that want to legalize the right to unhindered lies, insults, and libel. The experts also said that public figures, such as politicians, government officials, etc, must stand "fierce criticism." Nobody has denied that. However, we must differentiate between fierce criticism and malicious libel, because these are two different things.

[Ujevic] Did you discuss the recent events in the Croatian radio and television with the EU representatives?

[Seks] Generally, the point is that certain circles are trying to block some decisions at state level or in public life. Those attempts follow the following pattern: Groups of allegedly free and independent intellectuals, who used to be exterminators of press freedom and all other kinds of freedom, are activating their connections throughout the world, connections that are a priori critical about Croatian political affairs. These connections and circles consider the present Croatian authorities to be "bad guys." Their attitude is a dogma, and they never try to check any of the information that our allegedly independent intellectuals are serving them. It is sufficient to have Cicak or any boulevard paper as the source. They take that information as the truth without checking, although they often know very well that it is not the truth.

[Ujevic] You are not going to call some of the present Croatian network executives "former exterminators of press freedom and all other kinds of freedo " are you?

[Seks] Just think what a nonsense it is, to have an international media and political witch-hunt organized against a country because of completely normal decisions! Can you imagine a reciprocal situation, of Croatia sending its human rights representatives to Austria or Britain because of some internal decisions of their networks? They can sell us human rights stories and such stuff, but let me tell you what it is really all about. They are trying to put Croatia into the position of a colonial state and limit its sovereignty. I call that a doctrine of limited sovereignty, especially as human rights are not endangered in this case—very definite interests are.

[Box, p 13]

[Ujevic] Is it true that county elections in the autumn will not be held everywhere at the same time?

[Seks] The elections will be held as scheduled by the law and in accordance with the national and state interests of Croatia. The HDZ will decide when that is.

[Ujevic] Will the HDZ decide that it would not be in the national and state interest to hold the elections simultaneously in all counties?

[Seks] No comment.

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Poland: Israeli Ambassador Interviewed on Auschwitz, Relations

WS2307104296 Poznan WPROST in Polish 21 Jul 96 pp 17-18

[Interview with Israeli Ambassador Gershon Zohar by Piotr Gabryel, Stanislaw Janecki, Dobrochna Kedzierska, Marek Krol, and Jerzy Slawomir Mac in Warsaw; date not given: "Shared Memory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [WPROST] Was the Kielce pogrom suitably commemorated during the anniversary celebrations ?

[Zohar] Very important words that had been awaited by the Jewish community were said on that occasion by the prime minister and other representatives of the Polish community. The value of these words has been especially great, as they were said after years of silence. Nonetheless, many things have been missing and important questions have not been answered. No answer has been given to the question of how was it possible a crime like this came about despite so many centuries of living together in a relative symbiosis. How was it possible, considering the Jewish cultural, economic and scientific contribution to the Polish heritage? No explanation has been given on why, after Polish society had been confronted with the Holocaust, this crime came about in the region of Kielce. Despite several visits I have made to Kielce, I have not noticed a sufficient effort to deeply reflect on events and to recognize the past. Instead of naming a street after the victims of the pogrom or erecting a monument to commemorate their names, [the Polish community] has erected monuments to the Holocaust victims and the Just Among the Nations of the World. However praiseworthy the initiative might have been, it was not been connected with the date of 4 July 1946! [date of the Kielce pogrom]

I have also been bothered by some words that were said by the mayor of Kielce. He said in a public appearance that the thesis about Polish anti-semitism is just as incorrect as accusing Jews of kidnapping Christian kids to draw their blood for ritual purposes. The comparison of these absurd insinuations with cases of anti-semitism that do occur in Poland is really shocking. He made the comparison in front of the citizens of Kielce, preaching about the need for spreading tolerance and explaining the nature of anti-semitism.

[WPROST] Eli Wiesel's words about the crosses in Oswiecim have also aroused controversy.

[Zohar] I regret that his intentions have been misinterpreted. Eli Wiesel has not come out against Christian symbols. He has only tried to obtain the intervention of the Polish Government regarding the presence of crosses at a a Jewish cementeary—which is what Auschwitz is after all. This is the site of the extermination of the Jewish people, placed on the UNESCO world's heritage list and given the status of a state museum. A group of scouts, acting on their own initiative, erected a dozen crosses 11 years ago. Is there any reason why this act should now be entirely protected—even against criticism—especially in view of the decision of the Church circles about moving the Carmelite nunnery out of the territory of the same camp?

The fundamental agreement between the Holy See and the State of Israel, signed at the end of 1993, also includes the question of Auschwitz and the need for honoring the memory of the Jews murdered there. It is a pity that Polish society is not sufficiently informed about the contents of this agreement, which is not only a document of mutual international recognition between Israel and the Vatican, but also a historical act of mutual reconciliation and recognition of the nature of both Christianity and Judaism.

[WPROST] For decades, in line with the anti-German policy, communist propaganda was trying to instill the belief that Oswiecim was a symbol of the Polish people's martyrdom. Now the thesis is being repeated by pseudo-rightist political groups, which blame the Jews for trying to appropriate the symbol.

[Zohar] As a nation so cruelly treated by fate, we are coping with our own burden of painful memories, not trying to "appropriate" the sufferings of the Polish people during World War II. Out of the more than million victims of Auschwitz, only 8-9 percent belonged to nationalities other than Jews. The consequences of that are of a moral, religious and organizational nature, and Poland should meet the challenge.

[WPROST] Do you share the opinion that it would be proper to give the Oswiecim extermination camp exterritorial status, following the pattern of the American cemetery in Normandy, offered by France to the people of the United States?

[Zohar] I think that the municipal authorities of Oswiecim should not be responsible for a place which has a message for the whole world. The question is not whether Mr. Marszalek will open the shopping mall 50 or 550 meters from the gates of the extermination place; the thing is the Polish authorities should take care of commemorating this place, in agreement with international bodies—raging from UNESCO to Jewish circles. I assume that this is the direction taken by the Oswiecim project that is being worked out by the Office of the Council of Ministers. [URM]. Incidentally, it is difficult for me to talk officially about this project, as it has not been formally presented yet.

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[WPROST] Polish-Israeli relations are burdened with a past that has not been accounted for and mutual prejudice. Do you think that over the last couple of years, after Poland had regained sovreignty, a meaningful breakthrough has taken place in these relations?

[Zohar] Considering the fact that throughout most of the post-war period the Iron Curtain existed between us, Israeli-Polish relations are, after all, developing step by step. It is not easy to make up for the lost years, the time when the memory of the murdered Jewish nation was fading in Poland. The memory is the obvious bridge between our nations, which are renewing themselves. The prejudices can be overcome not by celebrations and declarations but, for example, by supporting visits of Polish youth to Israel. Young Israelis already now are meeting people their age in the towns of Krakow, Lodz or Zaglebie. We have merely started an exchange of experiences between educational experts, though I hope that the results of the work of the mixed comission for school manuals will be made more open to the Polish people. Appreciation of the value of education in our contacts also is reflected by the idea of establishing an institute of Polish studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The project i still awaiting implementation by the Polish side.

But I still see considerable obstacles slowing the process of improving mutual relations. What is disturbing is ignoring acts of hooliganism of an anti-semitic character: sacrilege in regard to Jewish cemeteries; burning the Israeli flag—done in big cities and in front of inactive police—even a demonstration with anti-semitic tones. Also in this context, the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Kielce pogrom have been a reminder of the need for critically viewing the lack of tolerance for national and religious minorities.

[WPROST] I have numerous reservations concerning the teaching of history in Polish schools; knowledge about the Polish-Jewish [past] and the role of the Jews in the history of our country is not being presented adequately. Is the Israeli school system free from similar shortcomings? Is the role of the Jews who came from Poland to create the State of Israel being presented in a proper way?

[Zohar] In our country there is no need for passing knowledge about the heritage of the Polish Jews within the formal school system. This is because numerous traditions that have shaped the sovereign and renewed state of the Jewish people come from the territory of Poland. These are not only cultural but also political traditions. Such names as Manger, Bashiyev Singer, Rubinstein and Huberman represent a tradition that is being passed in a natural way to the second and the third generations, even if they do not speak the Polish language any more.

David Ben-Gurion, the creator of the State of Israel, came from Plonsk. Most of the Israeli prime ministers came from the eastern parts of Poland [now parts of Ukraine, Belarus or Lithuania].

But the history of the Polish Jews, so very vivid in Israel, is being mixed with the memory of the deep wound upon the body of the Jewish people, inflicted by the attempt at exterminating the people, that took place in the land of Poland. Even now, Polish society has trouble understanding the depths of the truth that—in the physical sense—Poland is the cemetery for a large portion of the Jewish people. This fact is not some distant event of a couple of centuries ago, but concerns directly many citizens of Israel who lost their loved ones at the time of the Holocaust. Also, many Poles still suffer from the loss of their loved ones during the war. The Polish and Jewish martyrdoms, linked by the place where they occurred, should not be compared, though. Not diminishing in any way the Polish tragedy in the war, one must not forget that, in the 20th century, the Jewish nation was the only one destined for methodical extermination.

[WPROST] To what degree are the Polish-Jewish reminiscences connected with the official Polish-Israeli relationship and the views of the State of Israel on Polish matters?

[Zohar] Both states, developing their political, trade and cultural relations, are aware of the common historic backgrounds. In this main context, we highly appreciate the initiative of the Polish authorities aimed at creating a bill regulating the status of the Jewish minority in Poland as the successor to the Jewish religious communities of the pre-war period, thus settling the moral and historic debt.

A big step forward also has been made by the program aimed at normalizing the status of the place of memory—Auschwitz.

Meanwhile, it is about the whole range of matters relating to the material heritage of the Polish Jews, which concern the large Jewish community. There is, for example, the matter of repaying the moral debt by returning the former Jewish property, first of all the communal property. This is not a subject for just a bilateral dialogue between our two states, but it also concerns the Jews who have emigrated to Buenos Aires, Melbourne and New York. This is, precisely, one of the subjects for the dialogue that has to be conducted between the Polish society and representative organizations of the interstate Jewish community. Israeli

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society is a part of the Jewish side of the dialogue, and it takes part in it indirectly.

Poland: Minister Denies Rumors of CIA Coup Plot Against Belarus

LD2507182996 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Internal Affairs Minister Zbigniew Siemiatkowski has denied the rumors that CIA preparations for a coup in Belarus were taking place in Poland. The minister described these reports as nonsense.

The main police headquarters knows nothing about any terrorist activities which will originate from Poland, headquarters' spokesman Andrzej Przemyski told television's "Panorama."

[Begin Przemyski recording] The Polish police cooperate with services established for a particular purpose; specifically we cooperate fairly closely with the FBI, for instance. As far as the CIA is concerned, that is not within the range of our interests. [end recording]

State Protection Office news spokesman Leszek Buler said the office did not comment on statements of this kind.

[Begin Buler recording] The State Protection Office does not comment on any statements by politicians, especially by foreign politicians. [end recording]

Poland: Official Regrets Publicity Given to CIA Rumors

LD2507221296 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Leszek Miller, the chairman of the Council of Ministers' Office, who is currently in the United States, has commented on the alleged CIA preparations for a Belarusian coup d'etat: I regret very much that such statements are given publicity and that there are politicians in Belarus who feed their citizens such sensationalist stories. This is reminiscent of a passage from a story by Robert Ludlum or a similar author.

Poland: Commentary Criticizes Ilyukhin's Charges of CIA Plot

WS2607101696 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 96 p 5

[Commentary by Jan Skorzynski; under the "Ad Vocem" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] The subject of Polish spies working together with the CIA to undermine the foundations of the Eastern bloc appeared quite often in the Russian press over a dozen years ago. At that time, one could find out about subversive operations carried out by "Solidarity," which was headed by American agents. By accusing Poles and U.S intelligence of engineering a coup in Belarus, Viktor Ilyukhin returned to the very same rhetoric, the only difference being that the socialist community has now been replaced by the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Ilyukhin's revelations can be shrugged off or otherwise dismissed. However, it is alarming that they are being spread by the chairman of the Committee for Security in the Russian parliament. Incidentally, this is not the first time that the Russian Duma spread propaganda directed against Poland, such as the false publications about Katyn [place where thousands of Polish military officers were secretly killed by the Soviets in World War II] which were available at the parliamentary bookshop. It is also difficult to ignore the truly unparliamentary statements about our country made by Vladimir Zhyrinovskiy. Since Russian politicians in fact use such phraseology, apparently it pays them to do so. It looks like this is the most important thing here.

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Romania: Melescanu Views NATO Integration Effort

AU2507072296 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 19 Jul 96 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu by Bogdan Chirieac; place and date not given: "Romania Does Count in the Race for NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the vote in the House of Representatives and the meeting that Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu held with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, we asked Romania's chief diplomat to grant us an interview exclusively for our daily ADEVARUL. On the phone he answered the following questions:

[Chirieac] Mr. Minister, what does the vote in the House of Representatives mean for Romania?

[Melescanu] The positive vote cast in the House of Representatives for granting most-favored-nation [MFN] status to Romania on a permanent basis is the U.S. Administration's and legislature's positive expression of recognition of developments in Romania and the development of bilateral relations. In this respect, I would like to point out the very high number of favorable votes and the support that we enjoyed from both Republicans as well as Democrats. The vote yesterday is a very important step in the legal process of granting the status on a permanent basis. The validation of the vote in the U.S. Senate will follow. However, I believe that this vote means something else as well; it is good preparation for the next steps that we will have to take—also at the level of the U.S. legislature—toward achieving our major goal, namely integration into NATO.

[Chirieac] Do you believe that the favorable vote in the House should be regarded as a success of a certain political group in Romania?

[Melescanu] I do not believe that this favorable vote should be regarded as a success of one political group or another. As I mentioned earlier, this represents a recognition of the efforts made at the level of the entire Romanian society and of the results obtained during the process of democratic changes, economic reform, and the promotion of a balanced, consistent, and responsible foreign policy, efforts that enjoyed the support of the entire Romanian society. This shows the cohesion of the Romanian political class on major foreign policy issues. I would like to recall here the declaration of the Romanian Parliament regarding support for MFN status.

[Chirieac] What has brought about the change in attitude of the Romanian diplomacy in the way it approaches the NATO issue? I am referring to your direct declarations according to which Romania cannot afford to be left outside NATO?

[Melescanu] This is not a change of attitude of our diplomacy but an evolution regarding the way in which this attitude is perceived by our western partners. I do not think that the consistency and coherence with which we have promoted the objective of our Euro-Atlantic integration and the steps that we have taken in this respect can be questioned. It is also true that we have raced our engines full force in this direction, the result of which is that at the appropriate time our declarations and demarches have become extremely direct. Moreover, our demarches have become more sophisticated in conveying our message not only at the political and military level but also at a legislative level, an academic level, and implicitly, at the level of the public opinion in the NATO member states. Therefore, with the trump cards that we have regarding integration into NATO, our message started to be perceived with much greater attention and clarity.

[Chirieac] After the meeting with Warren Christopher, do you believe that Romania is now a player in the race for NATO?

[Melescanu] We regard the U.S. assessment of Romania's progress regarding qualification for integration into NATO and the voicing of U.S. support for reaching this goal as a reflection that Romania is a country that does count in the NATO expansion process.

[Chirieac] You had a meeting with Senator Brown, who proposed a bill on supporting the integration of the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary into NATO. Will Romania also be included here?

[Melescanu] I had meetings in Washington with some of the most important initiators of U.S. legislation regarding support to countries that are aspirants to NATO integration. I also had meetings with foreign policy counselors. During all these meetings we presented our arguments for the improvement of the language of the legislation, so that this should include our country among those that enjoy the U.S. support in the context of NATO expansion. The meeting with Senator Brown had a particular significance, and he assured us that he wishes to find a way in which U.S. support for Romania could be expressed in a much more direct way, a support that, in fact, he has never denied.

[Chirieac] Do you believe that Warren Christopher's statements will stimulate the support of other countries in West Europe, such as France and Germany, for Romania's integration into NATO?

[Melescanu] According to positions expressed during the our last political contacts, Romania in fact enjoys

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the support of France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and other NATO member states. Naturally, U.S. support is extremely important, because the United States is leading the process of the alliance's expansion. It is important to continue our positive pressure, as the U.S. secretary of state put it, and our demarches for integration into NATO at all levels, in all member states.

Romania: Defense Council Assesses Combat Readiness

AU2307191096 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 23 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ion Iliescu chaired the Country's Supreme Defense Council meeting held today. According to the communique faxed to us by the Presidency, in the opening of the meeting, Army Corps General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of the Army's General Staff, briefly informed the Council of the results of his recent visit to the United States, emphasizing the open, constructive nature of the talks with representatives of the U.S. Congress, State Department, and Defense Department, which focused primarily on Romanian-American military relations.

On the basis of a report read by the interior minister, the participants in the meeting examined and assessed the combat capability of the larger units and those units subordinate to the Interior Ministry.

The Country's Supreme Defense Council emphasized the professionalism, spirit of abnegation, and even the spirit of sacrifice with which Romania's gendarmes, border guards, and firemen perform their tasks.

In accordance with the provisions of the law on Romania's national defense on conducting strategic military actions, the Council endorsed the proposal of the minister of national defense on the organizational structure and duties of the General Headquarters, which is set up in wartime to act as an integrated operational command directly subordinate to the Country's Supreme Defense Council.

Within the same legal framework, the Council endorsed the proposals of the Army General Staff regarding the task of the military commander, a post that is established in wartime in each county and in Bucharest Municipality and subordinated to the General Headquarters.

The Council also examined the status of the restructuring program for defense industry companies. Likewise, two important areas of the territorial infrastructure, which are components of the national defense system, have been presented for examination; specifically, transportation and communications, as well as the stage reached in the fulfillment of the Country's Supreme Defense Council decision on achieving the integrated system of observation, surveillance, and control of territorial waters and of the contiguous area.

The Country's Supreme Defense Council also resolved other current defense, national security, and public order matters, in accordance with its legal competence, concludes the communiqui.

Romania: Iliescu Said Using MFN Issue as Propaganda

AU2507182596 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Jul p 1

[Editorial by Roxana Iordache: "Iliescu Is Lying Just Like Before"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The granting by the United States of the most-favored-nation status to Romania is a national success and this fact should be noted as such. The voice that marks this fact should belong to President Iliescu. However, the current head of state rushed to organize a news conference during which he boosted with this result as if it were exclusively his merit. Moreover, with gestures that would make even "the odious one" [former president Nicolae Ceausescu] envious, he started to besmirch those American deputies who voted against the bill, forgetting that in democracy decisions are not taken unanimously. President Iliescu accused David Funderburk and his supporters that allegedly they let themselves be "manipulated" by certain "circles that are hostile" to Romania and that favor Hungary. In his fury, the excited resident of Cotroceni Palace failed to notice the absurd and hilarious nature of this statement, from which one could understand that David Funderburk would represent the anti-Romanian propaganda, while Tom Lantos—the anti-Hungarian one! This is more than hilarious! It would have been more correct if the head of the Romanian state had assessed the position of both camps as pro-Romanian, but from different angles, considering that the Funderburk group had asked for nothing else except for the postponement of granting the status on a permanent basis until after the general elections in Romania, in order to avoid influencing the electoral campaign.

In fact, Iliescu did not miss the opportunity to make electoral propaganda on the Romanian Television at a prime time, vehemently accusing Emil Constantinescu [president of the Democratic Convention of Romania—CDR] of boycotting the MFN status! What is indeed unworthy of a head of state is the fact that President Iliescu is lying in the face of the nation, while knowing that the CDR president, being in Washington, in all his meetings with American congressmen pleaded for

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the MFN status on a permanent basis and Romania's integration into NATO. Going beyond party interest, his argument was that our country must benefit from these rights regardless of the electoral circumstances. A similar plead was addressed, through diplomatic means, by Foreign Minster Teodor Melescanu, who was also present in Washington. President Iliescu did not think that probably also this Melescanu-Constantinescu consensus, that is, government-opposition consensus, produced a favorable impression and maybe, even a decisive impression in the United States. Instead of emphasizing such a solidarity for national interest, the PDSR [Party of Social Democracy of Romania] head of Cotroceni took the chance of adopting a violently party attitude, even a totalitarian one, which can endanger the future procedures for making the MFN status permanent. Let us not forget that it must be also validated by the U.S. Senate and promulgated by President Clinton. After the reaction of Romania's president, it just might happen that the dignitaries who are in charge of finalizing the procedure, will realize that Funderburk was right, since his major argument was immediately confirmed when President Iliescu rushed to turn the still provisional American decision into electoral propaganda.

We can recall also that President Iliescu did not hesitate to lie, also on the Romanian television, in January 1993, when he accused Mr. Corneliu Coposu [former president of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party—PNTCD] of pleading against the MFN status for Romania. He said this in spite of the fact that, only a short while before, on 28 November 1992, the currently eulogized Congressman Tom Lantos, who was then blamed for his "anti-Romanian attitude" and "Hungarian lobby", visited Romania and, assisted by the U.S. envoy of that time John R. Davis, Jr. met successively with the Civic Alliance Party President Nicolae Manolescu and with the PNTCD Bureau members led by President Corneliu Coposu, meetings after which he declared publicly that: "The democratic opposition leadership strongly appealed to me to support the granting of the MFN status to Romania, their point of view counting very much to me and when I take the final decision I am going to take most carefully into consideration what the democratic opposition asked me to do." Among other things, Mr. Coposu explained to him that the Hungarian minority is not persecuted in Romania, as the American congressman, who was born in Budapest, was thinking, but that minority is only asked to respect the Romanian national unitary state.

Now, the Iliescu regime assumes exclusive merits, deliberately forgetting that, since that meeting in 1992 with the Romanian statesman Corneliu Coposu, the attitude of the American dignitary Tom Lantos has changed positively, up to the current insistent appeal in Romania's favor. It would delight us if he could militate just as convincingly for our country's integration into NATO, that we need even more than the MFN on a permanent basis. Meanwhile, the opinion leader for Romania's admission in the North Atlantic structures is David Funderburk, the one who was cursed by President Iliescu.

Romania: Ambassador Positively Assesses MFN Status Impact

AU2507064196 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 19 Jul 96 p 15

[Interview with Mircea Geoana, Romania's ambassador in Washington, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "I Did Not Doubt for a Minute That the Vote Will Be Positive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] After tonight's (Wednesday night) vote, did the Romanians win or lose the 25 U.S. congressmen who signed the letter against granting us most-favored-nation [MFN] status on a permanent basis?

[Geoana] I do not think that we are talking here about a battle involving winners and losers. This is a legislative process, it is one bill among many others that the U.S. Congress is debating. I believe that the broad majority with which the bill was endorsed by the House of Representatives shows there is a better understanding of realities in Romania. This shows that U.S. political support for Romania continues, and it is an encouraging sign not only regarding Romanian-U.S. commercial relations, but regarding Romanian-U.S. relations in general. It is also a promising sign for Romania's prospects for integration into Euro-Atlantic structures, especially NATO, where the United States undeniably holds the position of leader.

[Correspondent] Could we say that this is the most important diplomatic moment in our post-December history?

[Geoana] No way. It is perhaps a moment when we are very close to marking our proper entry into normalcy. I believe that this is an important moment, but it is just a stage in a broader process. I could say that the important moments are still to come, like entering NATO and the European Union.

[Correspondent] What will happen in the U.S. Senate?

[Geoana] As regards the Senate, we have great hopes that in the next few days, the Finance Committee, which was waiting for the House of Representatives' decision,

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will vote the bill in our favor. Then, we hope to have the bill scheduled for debates in the full Senate and to witness the conclusion of the procedure which will grant most-favored-nation status to our country.

[Correspondent] What does the granting of MFN on a permanent basis mean for ordinary people?

[Geoana] I believe that, first of all, it is a signal with respect to the predictability of economic and political relations between Romania and the United States. It is a sign to businesses and businessmen in both countries that Romanian-U.S. relations in the economic and political field are solid and have entered a new phase, one in which small incidents —like those that have occurred in the past —can no longer affect the intensity of these relations. I believe that this means that U.S. investors and businessmen in the two countries will be able to proceed more seriously; we hope that we will be able to significantly increase bilateral trade and, most importantly, attract U.S. investments in our country.

[Correspondent] How did the Romanian delegation react when they saw the result of the vote?

[Geoana] Through a happy coincidence, the program of Mr. Teodor Melescanu's [Romania's foreign minister] visit included talks with Congressmen precisely that afternoon (on Wednesday). Therefore, we were able to watch, with much excitement I might add, the voting process itself. Nevertheless, we did not doubt for a moment that the vote would be positive and that the broad support that Romania enjoys would be clearly be expressed, as it indeed happened.

Romania: PUNR's Funar Urges Ban on Hungarian Church Meeting

AU2507120596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the planned organization, in the 3 to 10 August 1996 period, of the World Congress of Hungarian Presbyterians in our country, PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] President Gheorghe Funar sent an open letter to Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, calling on the prime minister to urgently and firmly intervene so that the provisions of the Constitution, the Law on National Security, the Law on Public Administration, and the Law on Organization and Unfolding of Public Meetings be observed throughout Romania, and, thus, that the planned meeting be banned and the Romanian people spared from being humiliated by this anti-Romanian event organized by the Budapest leaders, with the support of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] leadership.

The prime minister is asked to support, by his stance, the demarches made in this respect by the State Secretariat for Religious Affairs.

In his letter, Gheorghe Funar also enumerates a number of aspects of the intended meeting, emphasizing that, beneath the disguise, the organization of public meetings is planned, meetings that, among other things, intend to discuss the program for the individual autonomy of Hungarian communities in Romania—which is the PUNR president calls the program on achieving territorial autonomy on ethnic criteria—the endorsement of the Budapest declaration regarding the autonomy of Hungarians beyond Hungary's borders, and the establishment of a strategy regarding, quote, the nomination of Senator Gyorgy Frunda as the president of an autonomous Transylvania, end quote.

Gheorghe Funar suggests that Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu urge the organizers of the event to ask Hungary to host this congress, just as in 1938 and 1991.

Romania: Daily on Signs of Renewed Monarchy-Church Alliance

AU2407184596 Bucharest ZIUA in Romanian 22 Jul 96 p 12

[Editorial by Adrian Patrusca: "An Alliance Which Might Change Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An exceptional event took place in great secret last Thursday [18 July] at noon. Queen Ana [Ana de Bourbon-Parma, wife of exiled King Mihai] visited Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church Teoctist. Although ZIUA was the only newspaper that learned of the secret meeting, it was not able to find out what the two discussed for 40 minutes. Many hypotheses can be made, even sensational ones. However, this is not what we want to do here, but rather to examine the context in which the meeting took place.

Only once did the power give in and permitted King Mihai to return for a short visit home—at Easter 1992. The king said he wanted to celebrate the resurrection at home and to pay homage to the tombs of his forefathers—a totally apolitical visit. But the presence of one million people in the streets of Bucharest, who literally crushed one another to see and hail the king, had a huge political impact, something that seriously shook the power's theory, according to which the percentage of monarchists among the Romanian population is insignificant. This may be so, but only if the king is kept far away from the borders; otherwise, his closeness simply has a magnetic attraction for the masses and overthrows their prejudices. [passage omitted]

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The Iliescu regime rapidly understood where the great danger may come from. It did not need another lesson. Since then, the king has not been allowed to enter the country. [passage omitted]

The king is an astute political figure, but during his 1992 visit he made a big mistake. When he arrived at the Bucharest Continental Hotel, coming from Putna Monastery, the king was conveyed an invitation to dinner from the patriarch. The invitation caused a great furor in the royal entourage. Poorly advised by his counselors, the king eventually turned down the invitation, on the childish excuse that the king should receive the patriarch, not the other way round. This, I maintain, was a childish motive, since the invitation per se proved that the patriarch was testing the ground for an attempt to dissociate himself from the post-revolutionary power and remake the natural link with the Royal House. The king should have realized that, in 1992, the patriarch did not have enough maneuvering room to dare make such a risky move, as to visit the sovereign in his hotel.

Isolated at Versoix [Switzerland] and prevented from repeating his 1992 visit, the king must have realized his serious error. But since he is very competent, he changed his tactics. His absence from the country was supplemented by repeated visits made by the Queen and Princess Margareta, together or separately. The two ladies—even if they do not manage to magnetize the crowds as only the king can—nevertheless are doing him a huge service. Their repeated visits on humanitarian or cultural reasons prevent the public at large from forgetting the king. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, Patriarch Teoctist is giving increasingly stronger signals that he is determined to make a break from the Iliescu regime. The last gesture along these lines was his firm attitude against the organization of the World Congress of Jehovah Witnesses in Bucharest. [passage omitted]

Both the king and the patriarch must reclaim essential ground: one, the throne, and the other, his independence and influence. Both are isolated. The political battle is causing certain parties to take clearly pro-monarchistic stands out of a fear of losing part of the electorate. In his turn, the patriarch is surrounded by the regime's faithful, who are hampering all his initiatives to set himself free.

Both the king and the patriarch need support and allies to reach their goals, which are obviously complementary. The link between the king and the church is natural, because it is divine. What God has bonded, cannot be untied by man! Therefore, last Thursday's secret meeting between the queen and the patriarch is preparing the ground to reseal a natural alliance. An alliance which might change Romania.

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Slovenia: Background on New Foreign Minister

96P20470A Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 20 Jul 96 p 1

[Article by Sasa Vidmajer: "Kracun—New Top Diplomat"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 19 July—[passage omitted] Davorin Kracun, 45 years old, member of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia (LDS), Ph.D. in economics, has already quite a lot of government experience. He was a member of the first Drnovsek government in which he headed the Ministry of Planning from May 1992. He was appointed minister of economic relations and development in the beginning of 1993 and served in this post until January 1995 when he passed it on to Janko Dezelak, member of the Slovene Christian Democrats (SKD). [passage omitted]

Slovenia: Bank Governors Discuss Succession Proposals

AU2507155196 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Governors of the four successor states of the former Yugoslavia—namely Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], and Slovenia—met in Bled today. They discussed a proposal of the Bank for International Settlements from Basel, which drafted a proposal of the division of slightly more than $0.5 billion in assets of the former SFRY among its successors. Here is a report by Suzana Kos:

[Begin recording] After it has resolved the majority of the issues connected to the debts of the former joint state, Slovenia will now also get some of the assets of the former federation. The Basel proposal envisages that the assets be divided on the basis of a special IMF key. According to it, our country would get a little more than $90 million in assets, which represents 16.4 percent. Croatia will get a little less than 30 percent, Bosnia-Herzegovina about 13 percent, while Macedonia will get a little more than 5 percent of the assets frozen in the Basel bank. The FRY, whose representatives were not present at the meeting in the Toplice Hotel in Bled, is supposed to get a little more than 36 percent of the assets and stocks in the above financial institution.

The place of today's meeting of the four governors, was, at least for our side, a carefully guarded secret. After the meeting, none of the Bank of Slovenia officials was available to comment for Radio Ljubljana. We learned about the place of the meeting from our Croatian colleagues.

We can, therefore, only sum up a brief statement for the public which, among other things, says that the governors regret the fact that they were not joined by any of the Yugoslav representatives. The statement also says that the participants in today's Bled meeting are interested in the division of assets, that they in principle support the proposed division, and that they will meet again in September. Until then they are supposed to find joint answers to certain concrete issues linked to the Basel proposal of division. As the statement says, the Yugoslavs will also be invited to the September meeting. [end recording]

Slovenia: FRY's Bank Governor Absent From Bled Meeting

AU2607102496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ljubljana, 25 Jul (BETA)—The Bank of Slovenia today reported that the governors of the central banks of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] support the suggestion made by the Bank for International Settlements [BIS] regarding the distribution of the gold and foreign currency of the former Yugoslavia.

The four governors met behind closed doors in Bled. This was the first time since the breakup of former Yugoslavia that the governors met.

"The governors supported in principle the suggestion made by the BIS, but the appropriate decisions will be made by the governments of each of the successor states of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]," the statement says.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia [NBJ] was invited to attend the meeting, but did not. The NBJ expressed its regrets for not being able to participate in the meeting, and said that the distribution of the SFRY assets was an issue that the government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should deal with.

A source close to the NBJ claims that its representatives were unable to obtain visas, which are compulsory for travel to Slovenia. The same source claimed the NBJ insists that the meeting regarding the distribution of the gold and foreign exchange of former Yugoslavia be under the authority of the BIS, and not under the authority of the successor states. [passage omitted]

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Slovenia: EU Questionnaire on Full Membership Submitted

AU2607091396 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Benjamin Lukman, chief of the Slovene Bureau for European Affairs, handed the Slovene Government's reply to the questionnaire on full EU membership to the European Commission representatives in Brussels today. Edo Zitnik has the details:

[Begin recording] Several thousands of pages of answers to the European Commission questionnaire were, according to Dr. Lukman, a major administrative undertaking for the Slovene state administration. It required close cooperation between different ministries, which is anything but an easy task. At the same time, the answer to the questionnaire had to be produced in a relatively short period of time. Over the next few months, the European Commission is to carefully study the associate members' replies to the questionnaire and then draw up an opinion on their readiness for full EU membership for each of them individually.

The millions of data covering several thousands of pages that were literally carted over to the Commission's headquarters by the associate members' representatives these days will present no small task if the Commission truly aspires to produce an authentic comparative analysis of the candidates.

Most of those in the know in Brussels claim that the replies to the Commission's questionnaire, no matter how detailed, will not be crucial for full membership. Dr. Lukman agrees, too, that the final decision about the first group of countries to start talks on full membership will be political.

The handing over of the replies to the questionnaire in Brussels has led to situations that have brought condescending smiles to the faces of the Commission's representatives. Some associate members were determined to make a political event out of the presentation of the replies at all costs, although it was not one and the whole thing could have been done via the usual diplomatic channels. To neutralize the embarrassing situation at least a bit, the Commission refused to allow television coverage of the presentation of the heaps of paperwork lacking any political weight and limited the entire procedure to 15 minutes. However, since some of the countries wanted to send their ministers to Brussels for the occasion—this idea could also be heard in Ljubljana—the Commission, for reasons of protocol, raised the political level of the recipient to one of the aides to the EU Commissioner Van den Broek. Most of the associate members ultimately nevertheless realized that much ado about nothing could turn into a farce, and for that reason presented or will present their replies via their Brussels representatives. Slovakia and Poland even did this in the EU missions in their home capitals. [end recording]

Slovenia: Talks Held With Gazprom on Pipeline Construction

AU2507160196 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Metod Dragonja, the minister for economic affairs, together with his colleagues from the ministry, yesterday received the leadership of Gazprom, the world's largest natural gas company. They spoke about Slovene and Russian cooperation in the construction of the transit pipeline which is to supply Russian gas to Italy through Slovene territory.

The pipeline will be approximately 300 km long, and according to the initial estimates, $500 million is to be set aside for its construction. Both sides will decide on more concrete solutions, such as the setting up of a joint company at the next talks.

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Federal

FRY: Daily Interviews Bosnian Vice President Ganic

AU2507145896 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 95 p 2

[Interview with Ejup Ganic, vice president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Belgrade on 24 Jul 96: "We are Changing the Basis, Not the Decoration"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Before the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation left for Sarajevo yesterday, Dr. Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, vice president of the Federation, gave an interview to NASA BORBA in his suite (800) at the Hotel Intercontinental. After picking through the Belgrade press, the first thing that he said was about how badly informed the local public was. Both Ganic and part of the delegation commented on the fact that Ganic's function as vice president of the Federation was being emphasized. In fact, no one denies this function of his, but there were comments on the lack of will to emphasize the fact that the head of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation had spent two days in Belgrade actually representing the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The delegation included the president of the Assembly, Miro Jazovic; the vice governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Obrad Puljak; the Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador to Zagreb, Kasim Trnka; and journalists from the Sarajevo media. That is why the first question dealt with his arrival.

[Ganic] Before leaving I was aware that this was politically a risky step for me. I was severely attacked by the opposition in Sarajevo, which believed—you know the established formula—that one should not visit those who had performed an act of aggression upon Bosnia-Herzegovina—or in a slightly milder form—or visit those who wholeheartedly aided those who directly did so.

[Banjac] Nevertheless, you came.

[Ganic] I am aware of everything; however, I acted like a pragmatic politician. What made me decide to go was the opportunity to break the ice, and thus finally establish a dialogue between the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]—especially to open the road to economic cooperation, so that—on both sides—the mafia would no longer do that job, be the only partner, and become rich on behalf of the citizens.

[Banjac] How would you comment on the admission made by your delegation that you were received at "a lower level" everywhere?

[Ganic] I assume that you mean the reception at the airport, as well as the other meetings where the usual setting was not present. For now this is less important than what we are planning to set in motion and do. Even as we were leaving we were aware that great internal problems still exist here and that there are many highly placed government persons who firmly cooperated with Pale. Moreover, the nationalists perhaps have not yet totally given up their ideas which they have had in their heads since before 1991. But I have come to change the basis and not the decoration. The decoration comes later, by itself, and our little flags will be on the tables in Belgrade when we hold talks with officials, just as there will be Serb and Yugoslav symbols in Sarajevo. Perhaps it was not meant badly when I was introduced as someone representing the Federation, but it does not matter in the end, as everyone knows that I represent Bosnia-Herzegovina and that I am here in the name of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whoever does not believe that should watch the CNN reports on my visit to Belgrade. In the end, even the people here need to get used to the change of direction, and then it will not happen that, as I was told, the president of the Chamber of Commerce will say "your country" and "our country," only to avoid saying Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Banjac] Did Milosevic meet you at the airport?

[Ganic] No, and that is least important. We spoke, and I think it is also important that we had arrived under the auspices of [US mediator Richard] Holbrooke, but at the invitation of Slobodan Milosevic.

[Banjac] The day before yesterday, after lunch, you said that after your two-hour talk at which Ministers Jadranko Prlic and Milan Milutinovic [foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the FRY, respectively] were present, you alone spent one hour talking to the Serb president. Could you tell us something about that?

[Ganic] I can. Why not? First of allm we spoke about the normalization of relations between the two countries. Moreover, we spoke about attaining long-term peace in this region, and third, about the relation between the Serbs and Muslims.

[Banjac] Anything more specific?

[Ganic] The elections are coming up. We asked for it to be possible for the citizens to vote here, that voting sites be set up. It is natural for people to realize their basic rights. We spoke about the missing persons in this war, and in that respect two state commissions will be established, the issue of Sandjak was also not skirted (the position of the parties there, the position of Bosniaks in Sandjak, the possibility of the return of some people, such as those who had left to avoid serving

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the army, then about the possibility of the return of Sulejman Ugljanin to the FRY...). Then we spoke about the position of the Islamic Community in the FRY; we also spoke about the Dayton agreement and finalized three agreements pertaining to it. These are agreements according to which entry visas for the citizens of the two countries will be abolished. We also agreed upon and signed a protocol on the establishment of the postal, railway, road, and air connections between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as upon the establishment of trade representative offices in Belgrade and in Sarajevo.

The first two agreements were already signed yesterday (the agreement concerning the abolishment of visas was signed by Ministers Prlic and Milutinovic, and the other by our deputy minister for transport and communications, Seadeta Cepic, and Zoran Vujovic, the FRY minister for transport and communication), and we are still working on the third agreement. It will be signed soon.

[Banjac] After the meeting with President Milosevic you said that the talks were "tough."

[Ganic] We got stuck on exchanging ambassadors, but I would have to stress that the people here are not well-informed. The FRY has in fact recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina within its historical boundary (you know what I mean), which a section of the Dayton agreement clearly talks about. It is clearly stated there that the FRY recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina and that Bosnia-Herzegovina recognizes the FRY. However, we are now being asked to remove our legal suit with the International Court of Justice (for the aggression and genocide), and that Yugoslavia's continuity be recognized. The latter issue is something that all of us claim.

[Banjac] Why do you not hold talks with the leadership in Pale?

[Ganic] That is probably obvious. They are an internal matter of ours, and we will soon discuss many matters. You see, there is no more Radovan Karadzic nor Ratko Mladic, and after the elections there will be new people there. I think that Mladen Ivanic [candidate for the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and Zivko Radisic [Serb entity presidential candidate] are perhaps our future partners in that regard as they are the candidates for the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Banjac] There are opinions that the old, war, leadership cannot agree upon the new Bosnia-Herzegovina unity (because it does not want to)?

[Ganic] This can only be changed with the elections.

[Banjac] You mentioned the elections. What will autumn bring to Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Ganic] The elections will certainly bring a new quality. And I think that this time, the parties which regard themselves as civil do not have a voter's base. These are people who are not serious in their work, like football players who have never played football.

[Banjac] And [Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina leader] Haris Silajdzic, the former prime minister and foreign minister?

[Ganic] He has his own party, and certainly a number of supporters. One should seriously count on this, but I have already told you that the entire opposition cannot really count on something that could foil the plans of the current government.

[Banjac] Do you expect President Milosevic to soon come to Sarajevo?

[Ganic] We will very soon be a small multiethnic country, open to all, especially to neighbors. I think that the economy will very soon import a lot, and after that everything will be easier. Many, many rounds of talks are before us, after which the arrival of Milosevic to Sarajevo (he has been invited) will not seem as something particularly spectacular.

[Box 1, p 2]

All Rights to Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina

With regard to the return of Serbs into the Bosnia-Herzegovina Constitution, the Bosnia-Herzegovina vice president says that the Serbs in the Federation need to have all their rights. All the rights that the other citizens in the state have. The Serb Civil Council is doing a lot regarding this matter, and we welcome this. I do not see much of an obstacle preventing the Serbs from being put back into the Constitution. It is only a matter of the sequence of certain moves.

[Box 2, p 2]

Avenue

When asked what he thinks of the criminal liability and extradition of political and military Bosnian Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, Granic replied in short: "The only avenue for them is the one that leads to The Hague."

[Box 3, p 2]

Brcko and Herzeg-Bosnia

"Apart from the arbiters from the Federation and the Serb Republic, a third arbiter has been assigned. I

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expect Brcko to belong to the people of Brcko, and that everyone can pass through it, both the Serbs as well as the Bosniaks," Ganic said about the fate of the Brcko arbitration. "There are problems with Herzeg-Bosnia," he says, "until they receive support from Zagreb, which in turn receive support from America and the world public." When asked when this will be taken care of, Ganic said: "Soon, with the help of Germany and America, which is larger and larger, and more open."

[Box 4, p 2]

Handshake

"In the plane I did not think of who would be waiting for me at the airport. I did not imagine Milosevic being there. We were told that only representatives of the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs and those of the American Embassy would be there. However, the first person I shook hands with was Minister of Economic Relations Rade Filipovic. I met with [Deputy Prime Minister] Nikola Sainovic, I am somehow closer to him by profession, and I think he is a clever man."

FRY: Government Officials Welcome 'Regional Approach'

AU2507085196 Belgrade BETA in English 18-25 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Despite the opposition of the Balkans states toward mutual cooperation, their fears of the renewal of Yugoslavia and Serbia's domination, and Yugoslavia's doubts about the EU "good faith," the changes are inevitable, experts claim.

The EU initiative on the establishment of regional ties between the countries of South Eastern Europe, within the framework of the so-called "regional approach," was received well in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Such reception was based both on Belgrade's conviction that the FRY is a strong Balkan country and a potential hegemon, and on its belief that the tying of the Balkans in one package would ease the access of Serbia and Montenegro to the West European market.

"The Federal Government strongly appreciates the regional approach initiative. In my view, the initiative offer the shortest way for our association with the EU, and, later on, for our full EU membership, Federal Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs," Radoslav Bulajic, stated to BETA.

The Regional Approach

The EU regional approach towards South Eastern Europe, that is, towards the Balkans, implies an establishment of economic ties between the countries of the region as a condition for their future closer cooperation with the EU and their inclusion into the economic and political structure of the Union. All former Yugoslav republics, except Slovenia which is a member of the Visegrad Group, are seen as belonging to the region of South Eastern Europe.

The first stage of a mutual cooperation of the former Yugoslav republics, which would immediately include Albania, followed by Romania and Bulgaria, is mutual recognition, followed by the opening of the borders for transportation, trade, telecommunication and the linking of the common infrastructure inherited from the former Yugoslavia. The EU condition for all the countries of the region is the respect for human and minorities' rights, while additional condition for Serbia and Montenegro includes the granting of a wide autonomy to the province of Kosovo, with the majority Albanian population.

During their tour of former Yugoslavia in early July, EU President Jacques Santer and the President of the Council of Ministers, Lamberto Dini, met with a strong resistance towards the "regional approach" from Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. In Zagreb they were told that Croatia is not a part of the Balkans, but a part of Europe, while in Sarajevo and Skopje they were advised that Bosnia and Macedonia do not wish to act as "Serbia's hostages." The common denominator behind all these statements was the fear of the renewal of Yugoslavia, that is, of "the Serbian domination."

Analysts in Belgrade hold that the EU insistence on the regional approach would certainly prevail over the opposition demonstrated by former Yugoslav republics, especially when it turns out that arrangements such as the establishment of a free trade zone in South Eastern Europe can enable the member-states achieve much more rapid growth rate. After all, both Slovenia and Croatia have declared their open interest in the markets of their eastern neighbors, while at the Conference of the Balkan Cooperation in Sofia, held on July 6 to 7, all participants expressed their readiness to liberalize mutual trade. Slovenia and Croatia had observer's status in the conference.

The Serbian Dilemmas

The FRY officials keep stressing that the regional cooperation is a priority of the Yugoslav foreign policy. The most recent statement in this vein was given by Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic, on July 7. The majority of the opposition forces, represented by the coalition of the Democratic Party (DP), the Serbian Renewal Movement (SRM), and the Civic Alliance of Serbia (CAS), has welcomed the EU regional cooperation initiative.

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However, the parties of the right and the ultra-right have failed to take the initiative seriously. Milorad Jovanovic, a spokesman for the Democratic Party of Serbia (DPS), said to BETA that the initiative is premature, "especially having in view the fact that many states in the former Yugoslavia have not yet been fully established as states. For Bosnia it is not clear yet whether it is a state or not, or whether it will survive as a state or not."

Though the official Belgrade gave its support to the EU regional initiative, at the same time it seems unconvinced that the EU intentions are fully sincere.

"It is not right on the EU part to fail to offer same trade preferentials and an equal approach towards cooperation to FRY, as it had offered to other former Yugoslav states. There are no reasons for excluding the FRY from the package, nor to postpone the introduction of preferentials until the end of the year," Radoslav Bulajic said.

Oskar Kovac, the eminence gris of the Yugoslav foreign policies and the main negotiator with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), said to BETA that the position of Belgrade regarding regional cooperation has not changed at all since 1992, when at the Hague Conference Kovac took part in negotiations with other Yugoslav republics on mutual relations. According to him, Serbia and Montenegro had offered then to other republics a model of cooperation very similar to the one offered then also by the EU—both were based on a customs union.

However, Kovac suggested that to the present EU "regional initiative" there could be more than meets the eye—something much mode serious that the modest EU wish to establish a permanent peace in the Balkans.

After the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and after the war, the conditions in the economies of the former Yugoslav republics have significantly been changed: Many companies have become parts of European multinational corporations. The establishment of a free trade zone would enable the multinational to directly penetrate into Serbia and Montenegro, Kovac suggested.

Therefore the EU should, in his view, confess to having economic and strategic interests in the Balkans, instead of telling stories about the restoration of peace and the (economic) reconstruction of Yugoslavia, which "indeed sound rather naive."

According to him, three corridors passing through the territory of the former Yugoslavia are of utmost importance for Europe: The Ljubljana corridor, the Panonian corridor, and the Vardar-Morava corridor. Through these strategic corridors Europe is connected to the Mediterranean and the Middle East. The forth strategic route is the Danube, whose "Yugoslav portion" is 850 kilometers long. "No one could possibly believe that the EU has no interest in these corridors. After all, it had invested billions of ECU in the Rhine-Maine-Danube canal," Kovac added. Therefore, he suggested that the EU and the FRY should openly discuss and harmonize their interests, adding that one of them would certainly be to prevent the spread of Islamic influence through the Vardar-Morava plain.

The Changes

A high official of the European Commission said for BETA that this institution is of opinion that the FRY, at the present, is not interested in an "organic rapprochement with Europe": "They want us to open our markets to them, to enable them to have access to the European Investment Bank's loans, but they are not interested in becoming a part of European structures; I don't have in mind only economic structures; for instance, they do not wish to come closer to the Council of Europe. They wish to partake in our economic space and our system, but not in our system of values."

Analysts in Belgrade, however, hold that this impression is not entirely correct.

"Much like it did in the past, Belgrade will in the future make major changes only under pressure. In it, the main reason for acting contrary to its own wishes will not be prompted by requirements from the outside, but by the interior logic of the regime itself," said Jelica Minic, the expert on regional economy and the president of the European Movement for Serbia.

Domestic economists claim that the regime is well aware that the present economic system has no chances for survival, and that after the elections big changes will occur in the area of privatization, in relations with the international financial institutions, and in the area of attracting the foreign capital.

"I am convinced that the opposition towards privatization does not really exist; This is only the matter of how to preserve power and control over the resources, the latter being crucial for the preservation of power," Minic said.

According to her, the present freezing of all changes in Serbia is due only to the election campaign. The post-election acceleration of changes is also indicated by a number of talks with foreign delegations and the announcements of large concessions to foreigners. BETA's sources close to the Federal Government claim that the major part of the negotiations regarding the Yugoslav IMF membership has already been finalized, with the only unresolved element remaining the "outer

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wall of the sanctions," that is, a complex of issues tied to the elections in Bosnia and the autonomy of Kosovo.

The economic changes, such as privatization, for instance, would most certainly cause changes in the sphere of politics. Under the conditions of an enhanced regional cooperation, the changes would then easily spread from one country to another, analysts in Belgrade hold.

The Forecast

"The regional arrangements will take place in the region both with the EU pressure and without it. Even if EU would abstain from pressure, the things would continue to develop in that direction, as it is a natural course of events," said to Beta Ljubisa Sekulic, a former SFRY's [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] high diplomat and the secretary of the 77 Developing Countries Group of long standing.

According to him, former Yugoslav republics could hardly count on becoming EU members within next 10 years; In the meantime they cannot live on their own—they have to take the road of cooperation, and I am convinced that such cooperation will become a reality."

Sekulic added that all the talk on unions, free zones, and similar is quite unnecessary. "These are big words, and people are not yet ready for something like that. It should be left to business people. A first agreement should be modestly entitled as the "Agreement on Special Discount in Tariff Rates." Nothing more than that is needed.... The life itself would later on indicate additional arrangements.

Sekulic thus described the logic of the "future integration": Upon the liberalization of trade, within a year or two it will turn out that some countries are constantly registering a foreign trade deficit, while others are registering a sufficit. This would be an additional obstacle to the trade. As a result, a commission would be established with the task to find out a suitable payment operations arrangement, which would enable the countries with the sufficit to continue exporting, while in yet another several years the need for additional investment arrangements would emerge, and so on.

"I am convinced that the course of events will be such, despite all political considerations. It's an economic necessity," Sekulic concluded.

Serbia

Serbia: New Democracy Hails Ganic Visit, Talks With Slovenia

AU2607074296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 25 Jul—New Democracy [ND] spokesman Rebeka Srbinovic today hailed Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic's visit to Belgrade and all interstate agreements signed on this occasion.

Srbinovic said at the news conference that Ganic's visit was a step toward the normalization of relations in the Balkans.

She expressed concern on behalf of the ND over the spreading of the foot-and-mouth epidemic and appealed to farmers to immediately report to the nearest medical authorities if they notice their cattle exhibiting the symptoms.

Srbinovic went on to assess ND President Dusan Mihajlovic's visit to Slovenia as successful, and said that the ND leader was the first Federal Republic of Yugoslavia politician to pay an official visit to Slovenia.

Mihajlovic and Slovene President Milan Kucan agreed that a speedy normalization of relations between the two countries was necessary, Srbinovic said and added that negotiations with Slovene companies— Fruktal, Merkator, Petrol, and others—had been "successful."

Serbia: SPS Announces Formation of 'Party Schools'

AU2507124896 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 25 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Jul (BETA)—Goran Percevic, president of the recently formed Theory Council of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), announced the formation of SPS party schools.

In an interview published in today's POLITIKA, Percevic explains the formation of the party schools with the fact that "in numerous parties in the West, one cannot hold a post, not even at the local level, unless one has completed a sort of party school." [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Montenegro: Russia To Open Consulate; Economic Cooperation Discussed

LD2407192296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1916 GMT 24 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, July 24 (TANJUG)—Russian Minister for Emergency Sit-

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uations Sergey Shoygu Wednesday informed Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic that Russian Federation intended to open a consulate in Montenegro.

The minister said meeting Djukanovic in Podgorica that the consulate would be opened after competent Yugoslav authorities give their approval.

Djukanovic also met a visiting Russian delegation to discuss future economic cooperation, especially in iron and steel industry, non-ferrous metal industry, tourism, transports and fuel trade.

The Russian minister conveyed to Djukanovic an invitation from Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to visit Moscow and Djukanovic accepted.

During his visit to Montenegro the minister also visited the Bjela port shipyard and inspected a Russian research vessel being overhauled there.

Business deals to the value of 2.2 million dollars were concluded during the visit.

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